GRAETZ

POPULAR HISTORY OF THE JEWS

Volume 5

POPULAR
HISTORY OF THE JEWS

BY
PROFESSOR H. GRAETZ

TRANSLATED BY
RABBI A. B. RHINE, D. D.

WITH A SUPPLEMENTARY VOLUME OF RECENT EVENTS
By DR. MAX RAISIN

EDITED BY
ALEXANDER HARKAVY

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THE JEWS IN EUROPE FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 16TH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

THE CONDITION OF THE JEWS IN POLAND AND ITALY

(1560-1600)

Poland, which in the sixteenth century became a great power through its union with Lithuania under the sons of Casimir IV, was, like Turkey, an asylum for the outlawed and the persecuted. Canonical Christianity had as yet struck no deep root in that land; and the arrogant monarchical absolutism, nurtured by courtlings and priests, could gain no foothold in a country whose nobility and gentry were jealous of their own rights. In their own domains, the starostas, like the English and Scotch lords and clans, held absolute sway, and could repel all royal encroachments. Calvinism gained a foothold among the nobility and the burghers. The canonical, anti-Jewish restrictions were practically ignored in Poland. Capistrano's instigations against the Jews left no impression, and Luther's hatred of them had even less effect upon this land which was Calvanistic for the most part. When the Jews were banished from Bohemia and turned towards Poland they met with a hearty welcome. In fact, so great a value was placed upon them that when many Jews, attracted by the favorable position of their coreligionsists in the Orient, made preparations to emigrate to Turkey, the King of Poland made every effort to retain them by employing either persuasion or force. The nobility, in so far as it did not conflict with their own interests, protected the Jews of their estates against hostile attacks. Baptized Jews, impelled to return to their ancestral faith, could do so in Poland with impunity. Under the last two Jagellon kings, Sigismund I (1506-1548) and Sigismund Augustus (1548-72) who lacked firmness of character and acted upon momentary impulses, the Jews of Poland experienced alternating periods of favors and restrictions, though, as a rule, the kings themselves were free from prejudices against the Jews, and from all religious bigotry and intolerance.

* Sigismund I, elected Grand Duke of Lithuania upon the death of his brother, Alexander Jagellon (1506), and King of Poland in the same year (November) confirmed (Jan. 5, 1607) the privileges conferred upon the Jews of Lithuania by Grand Duke Witold and followed a similar policy with reference to the Jews of Poland. This policy was consistently enforced, particularly during the lifetime of Bishop Tomicki and the Chancellor Szydlowiecki, who appreciated the commercial importance of the Jews though, subsequently, the greedy Queen Bona, of the Italian family of Sforza, employed a waiwode, Peter Kmita, to extort money from the Jews by threatening them with the restriction of their privileges. The Jews of Lithuania received

especial favors at the hands of Sigismund I, and in the charter which he granted them in Vilna (March 21, 1514), he exempted them from the duty of supplying a thousand horses for the army, and from special taxes, gave them unlimited commercial freedom, and so forth. As the Jews enjoyed complete autonomy in their internal affairs, Sigismund decided to appoint a Chief or Elder (Senior, or Praefectus Judaeorum) for the Jews of Lithuania and Poland who was to be responsible to the king for the prompt collection of the Jewish taxes and to act as the go-between between the Jews and the government. Accordingly, in an edict issued in Vilna (Feb. 27, 1514) Sigismund appointed to this office Michael Jesofovich, of Brest, one of the chief tax-farmers of several Lithuanian provinces, and a brother of Abraham Jesofovich, who had achieved a position of eminence in the court of Alexander Jagellon after he had accepted Christianity at the time when the Jews were expelled from Lithuania, was made governor (starosta) of Smolensk and finally became minister of finance. In the same year (Sept. 29) the king appointed Abraham of Bohemia prefect of the Jews of Great and Little Poland. In the king's edicts the Jews were ordered to pay their taxes to these elders, and the latter were empowered to settle all internal disputes with the assistance of the rabbis. Michael Jesofovich was a particular favorite of the king who raised him to the nobility (1525); and, as it seems, he exercised his power with a high hand. In his religious zeal, he attempted to force the Karaites who had settled in Lutzk (Volhynia), and in Troki, near Vilna, and who had received a special charter from Grand Duke Witold, to submit to the Jewish laws. The Karaites appealed to Gastold, the viceroy of Lithuania, on the ground that they were a separate denomination, and the latter decided in their favor.

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* This and the following eleven paragraphs (pp. 4-20) are condensed from Rabinowitz' Hebrew edition, Vol. VII, pp. 312-330.

But even the Rabbinic Jews, who gladly submitted to the rabbis of their own choice by virtue of their learning and piety, were restive under the rule of politically influential men appointed by the government. In the course of time, the king became convinced that individual elders like Michael Jesofovich and Abraham of Bohemia were unable to accomplish his main purpose: the prompt collection of the Jewish taxes, and he therefore empowered the rabbis to apportion the taxes among the members of their respective communities with the authority to employ the weapon of excommunication (Herem) in case of disobedience. However, as the rabbis could not carry this scheme into execution without the assistance of the prominent laymen of their respective communities, the communal representatives (Parnassim) acted jointly with the rabbis, and, together, they constituted a Kahal (Board) which acted for the community.

The number of the Jews of Poland at this time can no longer be ascertained, but was estimated at twenty thousand men and women. The community of Posen contained then three thousand members; Cracow, or rather its suburb Kazimierz, contained a like number, and Lublin was the next largest. But this number was augmented by the influx of exiles from Germany and Bohemia. Among these exiles were men of great wealth, and these were permitted to settle in the cities that belonged to the crown. Some of these new-comers were appointed "doctors," or assistants to the Jewish prefects, and tax-farmers or collectors. The most distinguished of these was Abraham of Bohemia spoken of above. As many Jews, it seems, refused to submit to this chief appointed by the king, Sigismund issued a special edict (1518) in which he conferred special privileges upon Abraham of Bohemia, and admonished the Jews and the rabbis to treat him with great consideration. Sigismund also felt called upon to settle the controversy that broke out in the Jewish community of Cracow between the original settlers and the new-comers from Bohemia. With reference to the question as to whether Cracow was to have only one or two rabbis, the king decided that the community might elect two rabbis, Rabbis Perez, who had already officiated for three years, and Rabbi Asher, the former the choice of the Bohemians, the latter of the old Polish settlers, and that every Jew must obey one or the other of these two rabbis in accordance with his choice (1519). The quarrel as to the possession of the old synagog which broke out in the same year, the king settled by deciding in favor of the old settlers (Nov. 1). Upon the death of Rabbi Asher, the Polish community of Cracow elected as its rabbi, Moses Fishel, who was also a physician and whom the king exempted from the payment of special Jewish taxes at the request of the arch-bishop of Posen (1523).

Thus, up to 1525, the condition of the Polish Jews under Sigismund was a comparatively favorable one. The king himself was well disposed towards the Jews; and, though now and then he was compelled to yield to the demands of the clergy and of the German merchant guilds of the cities, and to restrict the rights of the Jews, such repressive laws proved ineffective. In Lithuania they stood under the jurisdiction of the royal courts, and not under those of the cities and of the clergy. If justice were denied them in these courts, they had the right of appeal to the king himself. But in the second half of Sigismund's reign, owing to the political confusion and complications that prevailed in Poland, the condition of the Jews changed for the worse. Hitherto, the king shared the power of government only with the higher nobility or magnates; but in the beginning of the sixteenth century the lesser nobility, too, began to assert a superiority over the peasants and burghers. The higher and lesser nobility formed a coalition with the object of encroaching upon the prerogatives of the king and upon the rights of the peasantry and the burghers. In consequence of this coalition, the other estates of the kingdom, including the Jews, lost some of their rights, though the Jews were subject not to the nobility but to the king. As only the nobles were eligible to hold important government offices and as they enjoyed the right to transport goods from place to place without the payment of custom duties, the Jewish trade suffered. Moreover, with the development of commerce and industry and the growth of the number of both the merchant guilds, composed largely of Germans, and the Jews, due largely to the influx of German exiles, the commercial competition between the burghers and the Jews reached its climax. In 1521 the Christian merchants of Lemberg proposed to those of Posen and other cities that they form a coalition against the Jews, with what result is not known. The merchant guilds made many other attempts to curtail the commercial rights of Jewish merchants. In 1536 (May) a destructive fire broke out in Posen and the magistrates accused the Jews of arson and appealed to the king to banish the Jews from that city, or, at least, to assign them quarters outside of the city walls. The king refused both requests, and threatened the burghers with a fine of ten thousand marks if they interfered with the Jews in the rebuilding of their houses. The burghers, however, continued their oppression of the Jews whenever possible, often incited the populace to attack the Jews, and many riots occurred. This rivalry reached its culmination in the Diet of Piotrkow (1538), and the burghers carried the day. The Jews were denied the privilege of engaging in the collection of taxes or of leasing government revenues, "since it is against God's law that Jews should occupy positions of honor in Christian countries." Their commercial rights were restricted in many respects and they were ordered to wear a distinctive badge, "that, from a distance, one might distinguish between them and the Christians." In the cities anti-Jewish riots occurred with greater and greater frequency despite the admonition of Sigismund in his edict of 1530.

These incidents led many Jews to leave the crown cities and to settle in the towns and villages, the property of the magnates and the lesser nobility, there to engage in the sale of spirituous liquors. The poorer Jews of the cities who were unable to change their residence, placed themselves under the protction of the nobles in order to escape the interference of the waywodes. In the course of the rebellion of the nobility against the royal authority (1537), the former demanded that the law which limited the settlement of the Jews to crown cities and which placed the Jews under the exclusive control of the king, be repealed, and that a new law be enacted to the effect that the Jews who settled in the cities built on land belonging to the nobility are not subject to the royal governors (waywodes), but that the Jews be given the right to place themselves under the king's protection whenever they so desire. In the Diet of Cracow (1539) the king acquiesced to this demand. For the time being the Jews were glad of this change in their political status, for in settling upon the estates of the nobility they got rid of the supervision of the waywodes as well as of the annoyances caused them by the burghers. Under the protection of the nobles the Jews who settled on their estates prospered.

The era of "rich arrendators" on the estates of the nobility ensued. The business of spirituous liquors and factorship increased, and the small towns located on the estates of the nobility were full of shops, of inns, of eating and drinking places, as well as of artisans. The Jew enjoyed absolute freedom if he only succeeded in ingratiating himself into the favor of his lord or "Poritz." This change reacted upon the moral and spiritual as well as upon the social and political status of the Jews, and its deteriorating influences were aggravated year by year in the course of more than three centuries. Henceforth the Jews became virtually the property of the lords and nobles. Living in the villages, he was not a tiller of the soil but the bondman of the haughty aristocrats, and subject to their caprices. Well disposed as the Polish kings (with the exception of the Saxon line) were towards the Jews, they could no longer exert themselves in the behalf of the latter, because the Jews, not by law, but by virtue of social and economic forces, became the serfs of the nobility.

Hitherto religious persecutions were hardly known in Poland, but in the latter days of Sigismund's reign, the Catholic clergy, in their anxiety to stem the tide of the Reformation which had gained many adherents in Lithuania and Poland, and in their endeavor to reawaken the religious zeal of the Catholics, spread the report that the Jews were taking advantage of the religious schism in Christianity to convert many Christians to Judaism. The circumstance that an old Christian woman of Cracow, Catherine Malcherowa, announced publicly that Judaism was the true religion and persisted in her belief even while she was burned at the stake (1539), lent countenance to this charge. At the instigation of the Catholic priesthood, a rumor spread in Cracow that the

Jews were converting many Christians and were sending them to Turkey by way of Lithuania. Sigismund, though tolerant himself, ordered an investigation with instructions to punish severely those Jews who were guilty of spreading the Jewish heresy among the Christians. But the officials sent by the king to Lithuania, instead of investigating, took it for granted that the Jews were guilty, and began to oppress and to persecute them. The Jews protested their innocence and appealed to the king for protection. Thereupon Sigismund addressed an open letter to the authorities of Lithuania to desist from oppressing the Jews, and to confine themselves to the investigations of the charges against the individuals suspected. While this investigation was going on, a report was circulated that many Jews intended to depart for Turkey and to settle there together with the Christians who had embraced Judaism. Another investigation was ordered, and again the Jews of Lithuania were oppressed and imprisoned by the investigating commission. The Jews sent a deputation to Cracow who succeeded in convincing the king of their innocence, and Sigismund issued another open letter (1540) to that effect. But despite the king's protection, these incidents had an injurious effect upon the condition of the Jews of Poland. Queen Bona and the greedy chancellor, Kmita, utilized them to extort money from the Jews, and it was only at great cost that the latter could obtain any privilege of living and trading in the country. Meanwhile, the Catholic priests, with the fanatic and greedy Bishop Gamrat at their head, continued their agitation against the Jews. In 1538 they passed a resolution in Cracow to request the king to compel the Jews to wear a distinctive garb; and in 1542, at a council held in Piotrkow, under the presidency of Bishop Gamrat, they decided to petition the king to issue an edict that should warn Christians against holding any social intercourse with Jews, that should declare Jews ineligible to any political office, deny them the right of erecting synagogs and of settling in places they had not lived in hitherto. These evil designs, however, were frustrated by the king and the nobles.

Sigismund I was succeeded by his son, Sigismund Augustus (1548-72), who was one of the most enlightened Polish kings, and as tolerant and as well disposed towards the Jews as his father. But, as irresolute as his father, he found himself compelled at times to yield to the burghers and the priests who were ever hostile to the Jews, the latter even more so than the former. In the early days of his reign it happened occasionally that the burghers and their magistrates came to terms with the Jewish communities and, with the assistance of the royal officials, reached a compromise and declared a truce for a given time. The priests, on the other hand, particularly after the arrival of the Jesuits who were sent to Poland by Paul IV to save that country to the papacy, never ceased their instigations against the Jews, since they dared not quarrel with the Polish nobility who leaned towards Lutheranism and Calvinism. But with all their fanatic zeal, the priests could only disturb the tranquillity of the Polish Jews, but could not oppress and humiliate them as was done in other countries of the West. Poland was the only kingdom in Europe that offered the Jews security even though that security was far from absolute.

Sigismund Augustus, upon his accession to the throne, issued a charter to the Jews in which he confirmed all the privileges conferred upon them by Casimir the Great and Casimir Jagellon, and in which, for the first time, they are spoken of as one of the estates of the kingdom (1548). For the first time, too, the king included the rights and the privileges of the Jews in the oath of fealty to the constitution which he took in Piotrkow in the same year, just as he included the rights and the privileges of the nobility and the other classes. To this oath the king remained faithful all his life, in so far as the protection of the Jews depended upon him personally. Even though the Jews had enjoyed autonomy in their internal affairs even before his accession, this king rendered that autonomy more stable, and conferred full powers upon the rabbis and the elders to conduct their communal affairs in accordance with the Jewish law and without any outside interference. In 1551 he issued an edict which reads: "The Jews are given permission to choose a 'doctor' or judge, and all the members of the community are ordered to obey him; any Jew who disobeys the rabbi elected by the community shall be subject to corporal punishment and to the confiscation of his property." He also limited the jurisdiction of the district rabbis of the provincial capitals of Cracow, Posen, Lublin, Lemberg and Cholm to their respective districts; any one encroaching upon the jurisdiction of another was to be fined one thousand ducats. Cases between Jews and Christians were to be tried in the general courts, each party having the right to appeal to a higher court. Jews living upon estates belonging to the nobility stood outside of the jurisdiction of the royal courts, but were subject to that of the land-owner. Individual Jews received, at times, the special privilege of standing under the exclusive jurisdiction of the royal courts.

But despite the willingness of the king to protect the Jews, who lived in the crown cities, the cities took advantage of their ancient charters, which ganted them autonomy, to oppress the Jews in order to rid themselves of their commercial and industrial competition. During the reign of Sigismund Augustus the Jews were compelled to make compromises with the cities which were usually disadvantageous to the former. Such compromises were made in Posen, Belza and Cracow and other cities. Some cities, like Sieradz in Great Poland, were granted the privilege not to admit Jews at all. The Germans of Riga petitioned to exclude the Jews from the Baltic trade, while the Catholics of Poland sought to restrict the commercial privileges of the Jews in that country. The constitution of 1565 excluded the Jews from leasing the tolls and transit duties and the sale of liquors. At the diet of Lublin (1569) at which the indissoluble union of Lithuania and Poland was accomplished, complaints were raised that the Jews of Lithuania were still permitted to lease the various government revenues, and to engage in commercial branches on which the government had imposed a tax. The religious fanaticism of the Poles found its way into Lithuania too, and the Jews of that country were forbidden to wear gold and silver chains, swords, or gold and silver embroidered work in their girdles—an interdict which testifies to the privileges and the position of honor hitherto enjoyed by them—to occupy any government post and to employ Christian servants. At this time, too, an increasing number of cities sought to obtain the "privilege" of excluding the Jews from residence in their midst. Thus, the duchy of Oswiecim on the border of Poland and Silesia, obtained the "privilege" in 1573 not to admit new Jewish settlers; so did the City of Wielun. Among others, the City of Warsaw, the capital of Mazovia, destined to become the capital of Poland, obtained a similar privilege. The Jews had been expelled from Mazovia during the reign of Sigismund I, but in 1563 they managed to settle in Warsaw once more. Upon the complaint of the Christian residents, Sigismund Augustus was prevailed upon in 1570 to grant the City of Warsaw the "privilege" of debarring Jews from residence in that city. The Jewish settlers were permitted to "sojourn" there on very harsh conditions. Only during the sessions of the diet were Jews permitted to visit Warsaw on business.

The Jews, however, were hardly conscious of these restrictions which they succeeded in evading either by means of money or by agreements and compromises with the magistracies of the cities. The king, the royal officials and some of the nobles, who appreciated the commercial utility of the Jews, were on their side, and throughout the reign of the last two Jagellon kings the Jews practically controlled the trade of the country. General persecutions were as yet unknown in Poland, and still less in Lithuania where the Jews were engaged in agriculture and not in commerce, and where their social position was higher than that of their brethren in Poland. In government documents they were spoken of as "sirs" and not as "infidels," an opprobrious epithet applied to them in official Polish documents. It was only in the years immediately preceding the union of Lithuania with Poland, when the "Shlyakhta," or the lesser nobility, gained the upper hand in Lithuania, too, and the king was compelled to accede to their demands in order to gain their support for the union upon which he had set his heart, it was only then that the "Shlyakhta" enacted a law compelling the Jews of Lithuania to wear a distinctive garb, and similar repressive and degrading measures. These restrictions, however, emanated from the nobles; the king himself endeavored to protect the Jews against discriminations to the full extent of his power.

Only one persecution, after the fashion of western Europe, though on a much smaller scale, is recorded at this period, and this at the instigation of the Roman clergy. Paul IV sent a papal nuncio to Poland to save that country from the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies which had gained many adherents among the nobility of Poland in Cracow in 1550, and intimidated the irresolute but tolerant king; but failing to make an impression upon the nobles who persisted in their Lutheran and Calvinistic heresies, he determined to convert the Tartars and the Jews of Lithuania to Catholicism (1555), employing for this purpose the scheme that proved so successful in Western Europe. A Christian (Lutheran) woman, Dorotea Lazencka, of Sochaczow, in Mazovia, was charged with the crime of stealing a consecrated host and selling it to the Jews for the purpose of desecration. The papal nuncio Lippomano investigated the alleged crime after the fashion of the Spanish inquisition, and, assisted by the Palatine Barkow and the Chancellor Przerembez, Bishop of Cholm, imprisoned three Jews of Sochaczow and sought to induce the king to sanction the burning of the Christian woman and the three Jews. Sigismund Augustus, however, convinced of the falsity of the accusation, ordered the governor (starosta) of Mazovia to release the imprisoned Jews, but the Bishop of Cholm produced a forged document in the name of the king who was then in Vilna, and the three innocent Jews were burned (1557). The papal nuncio believed that by such an act he would intimidate the heretics who rebelled against the Catholic Church. But he was mistaken. The king was very indignant when he heard of this outrage committed in his name and exclaimed: "I tremble at this outrage, and I do not care to have people believe that I have lost my reason by subscribing to the absurdity that a pierced host could bleed." All the Poles who sympathized with the Lutheran Reformation supported the Jews this time, and held the nuncio up to ridicule in biting satires. Several provincial deputies and the hetman Tarnowski in particular, urged the king to expel the bishops from the country; the irresolute king, however, could not muster up enough courage to take such a step, but decreed that henceforth whenever a Jew is charged with a ritual murder or with the desecration of a host he is to be tried only by the diet, and not on specious but on absolutely trustworthy evidence.

But such hostility to Jews was not confined to the Catholics of Poland, but was shared by Protestants also. The Protestant Przysolski, who systematized the ancient chartered privileges to be included in the Polish code, and even more so the crown marshal Roy v. Naglowic, were bitter enemies of the Jews. But eminent Jews who had access to the throne succeeded in frustrating the evil designs of these enemies. Sigismund Augustus, for political reasons, needed the friendship of the Jewish Duke of Naxos, and assured him that he would protect his coreligionists of Poland. The King's Jewish physicians, Solomon Ashkenazi, who later on became the political adviser of the Turkish grand vizier, and Simon Günsburg, who was extolled by his contemporaries for his many virtues, and other influential Jews interceded in behalf of their coreligionists, and succeeded in inducing the king to embrace their cause. Meanwhile, Cardinal Hasius came to Poland with a band of Jesuits, who succeeded in checking the Protestant movement in Poland, and Catholicism triumphed. The Jesuits proved a thorn in the flesh of the Polish Jews, and at their instigation the diets of Piotrkow of 1562, 1563 and 1565 restricted the rights of the Jews in many respects. In 1569 the union of Lithuania with Poland became an accomplished fact in Lublin, and upon the death of Sigismund Augustus (July 7, 1572) the Jagellon line became extinct and Poland became an elective monarchy. These two events which tended to augment the power of the nobility were fraught with far-reaching consequences for the Jews of the two countries.

The union of Lithuania and Poland proved disadvantageous for the Jews of the former country. In Luthiania the authority of the grand duke was far greater than that of the king in Poland where the king was already subject to the will of the lords and nobles, and whose constitution contained those germs of anarchy that finally led to her downfall. The Jagellon kings of Poland, as dukes of Lithuania, endeavored to rule their native country with a firm hand; and, realizing that the higher and lower nobility were trying to undermine the power of the government in their own favor, the kings depended for support upon the middle classes which included the Jews. In turn the kings protected the Jews because they regarded them as loyal servants. But the union of 1569 changed the aspect of things completely. The Lithuanian magnates were very jealous of their national liberty, and the Lithuanian princes, Radziwill, Ostrowski and Czartoriski attained almost royal power with the result that the gentry who were henceforth selected by the great nobles became entirely dependent upon them and lost all their influence. The relation between the king and the Jews also changed. Hitherto the Jews had stood under the immediate jurisdiction of the king, and the royal charters were sufficient protection for them. From this time on, however, the royal charters were a mere matter of form. The nobles owned the land, and the Jews, who lived on their estates, were safe only so long as their masters were pleased with them and found them obedient. In other words, the Jews stood, henceforth, under the jurisdiction of the nobles instead of that of the king. Though, ultimately, this change had a deteriorating effect upon the condition of the Jews, it proved advantageous for the time being. With the increase of the nobility, the Jewish settlements also increased. In the course of time almost every noble found it to his interest to establish one or more Jewish communities on his estates. Inasmuch as the lords enjoyed supreme authority, they could permit the Jews to build synagogs, or to settle in cities and villages, even in such places where they were excluded by law, or to rent them houses, shops, workshops, drinking places and provide them with other occupations without consulting the central government. All these new avenues of profit opened by the nobles for the Jews tended to wean the latter away from agricultural pursuits which were neither so profitable nor so safe, since the land-owning gentry could easily encroach upon the fields of their Jewish neighbors, and the latter would have no redress. Thus, the union of Lithuania with Poland stamped the communities of the former country with the same characteristics that had marked those of the latter country for centuries, and produced these results: The Lithuanian Jewish settlements in the large and small towns and in the villages built on the land belonging to the nobility increased; the restrictive measures incorporated in the Lithuanian statutes in the last days of the reign of Sigismund Augustus proved ineffective in many places; the Jews gave up the tilling of the soil in consequence of the profitable occupations opened up for them by the nobles; the majority settled in cities, and placed themselves under the protection of the nobles. But while the economic condition of the Jews improved under the supremacy of the nobles ever since Poland became an elective monarchy, this improvement had no stability and the fate of the Jews depended henceforth upon the political circumstances, and the changes, revolutions and civil wars which were of frequent occurrence in the course of the next two centuries.

In consequence of the Reformation which had found entrance into Poland, there developed in that country, too, a more refined taste and a greater love for science and literature. Polish noblemen who were fond of traveling imported this spirit from Germany and Italy, and sent their sons to the reformed universities of Wittenberg and Geneva. To be sure, this awakening of the desire for general knowledge exerted but slight influence on the Jews of Poland; but they were by no means as devoid of it as their German coreligionists. Aristotle, the philosophic authority, so greatly honored in the Jewish world, and so congenial to the Jewish spirit, found individual admirers among the Polish Jews, too, and exerted a special attraction on the Jewish youth. Maimonides' religious philosophical works also found individual, though not many, readers. Jewish physicians, who had come from Italy into Poland with Queen Bona, the second wife of Sigismund I (1504-48), brought with them alongside of their knowledge of medicine, the knowledge of other secular branches as well, to which studious youths applied themselves. The Jews of Poland were intellectually far superior to their German brethren. (The first indication of this intellectual awakening on the part of the Polish and Lithuanian Jews was the establishment of printing houses, the oldest in Northern and Central Europe, next to those of Prague. Such presses were established in Cracow, Brest and Lublin, and printed not only the Talmud, rabbinic works, the Scriptures with commentaties, but philosophic and theological works as well.)*

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* Rabinowitz, Vol. VII, p. 336.

The Jews of Poland were the last among all the communities of Europe and Asia to become conversant with the Talmud, but they devoted themselves to its cultivation with all the greater love and zeal, through the influence of two eminent rabbis; Moses Menz, of Mayence, who emigrated to Posen in his old age (about 1463), and Jacob Polak (flourished about 1490-1530), who came from Prague and settled in Cracow where he established an academy. The latter, who was trained in the Talmudic school of Germany, developed the method of Talmudic interpretation to an astonishing degree of perfection. An expenditure of ingenuity that yielded but insignificant returns, like the rearing of a gigantic structure out of loose grains of sand; a splitting of hairs surpassing by far that method which even some Talmudists scorned and described as drawing a rope through the eye of a needle; an art of dialectics which received a special name, *pilpul,* a game of cross purposes as it were—this was the method which Jacob Polak introduced in his academy. Henceforth it appeared as though only that academy could train the right kind of helmsmen capable of navigating the "sea of the Talmud." The Talmudic academies of Poland became henceforth the most celebrated throughout European Jewry. Whoever desired a thorough Talmudic education proceeded to one of those schools. To have been trained in a Polish-Jewish academy was sufficient recommendation; whoever did not possess such training was regarded as inferior in rank and learning.

The fame of the Polish rabbinic academies was further augmented by three men: Shalom Shachna, a disciple of Jacob Polak, Solomon Luria (Maharshal) and Moses Isserles, a disciple of Shachna's. Of Shalom Shachna's life (flourished 1540-1558) little is known. It seems that he became chief rabbi, lived in Lublin and the academy over which he presided enjoyed the highest rank in Poland. His activity is known only through his disciples, Moses Isserles among them, who sang his praises with great enthusiasm. Solomon Luria (about 1510-73) was a descendant of a German family that emigrated to Poland. Had he lived in a happier, more vigorous age, his genius would have given a new direction to Judaism; but, a child of a degenerate age, he became only a thorough Talmudist in a higher sense of the word, insofar as he did not rest content with the traditional, but submitted everything to a close and searching criticism. In a different period, Luria, with his critical spirit, would have questioned even the authority of the Talmud itself, since it contains such a diversity and confusion of opinion on nearly every point; but he found a satisfactory cabalistic solution for this difficulty. But all post-Talmudic rabbinic works, the writings of the Spanish and German schools, even those of Maimonides, he subjected to a keen criticism, and did not hesitate to express his contempt for them on occasion. He was particularly averse to the pilpulistic methods of Jacob Polak and Shalom Shachna. Luria was at the same time a man of decided character. He hated injustice, venality and hypocrisy with all his soul; and the sight of them often threw him into a passion which got the better of his discretion. As a matter of course, Luria, with his independence and firmness of character which he wished to assert everywhere, gave offense, hurt some one's vanity and made enemies. For this reason he had to lead a roving life. Here and there he opened a school but left it soon, and it was only in his fortieth year that he finally settled in Ostrog, in Volhynia. In harsh words he castigates the Talmudic scholars whose practices were not in keeping with their theories, and who studied only to be able to argue or in order to acquire a reputation. He upbraided young Talmudic students for their ignorance and arrogance, and charged gray-haired rabbis with being overbearing and selfish. He heaps ridicule upon those German Talmudic scholars who overlook the offences of the rich and influential but who calumniate the poor or the strangers when they fail to observe a single custom, such and are guilty, for example, of going bareheaded. That this description is exaggerated is best indicated by the recognition which was accorded the sullen critic himself. In his lifetime he found many admirers among the younger and older Talmudists. Even Isaac Bezalels, the rabbi of Vladimir, with whom Luria quarreled and whom he treated with disdain, willingly paid homage to Luria.

While still in early manhood, Solomon Luria began to gather the material for his chief work, *Yam shel Shlomo* (Solomon's Sea), which was to sift the Talmudic discussions and to establish definite conclusions as a guide to religious practice, a work on which he labored all his life without completing it. Luria did, indeed, accomplish his task with more thoroughness, clarity and depth than his contemporaries and predecessors; but if he intended, as it appears, to put a stop thereby to the chaos and confusion of opinion in rabbinic Judaism he labored under the same error as Maimonides, Caro and others. His work only added to the confusion.

His critical spirit led Luria to a careful study of Hebrew grammar, a subject which was entirely ignored by German and Polish Talmudic scholars. On the other hand, he was a determined enemy of scholastic philosophy which he regarded as subversive of faith. At the same time, however, he occupied himself with the cabala, though his sound reason kept him from falling into cabalistic delusions, and from placing the Zohar above the Talmud as the disciples of Isaac Luria in Palestine did.

A great rabbinic authority in Poland was Moses ben Israel Isserles of Cracow (about 1520-1572). The son of a very wealthy and prominent man who was the Parnas of his community, he could absorb himself at his ease in the study of the Talmud, and was distinguished for precocity and comprehensiveness of learning rather than for originality. He soon achieved such a reputation that he was appointed a rabbinic judge in Cracow while still in his early manhood. At the age of thirty he had mastered the entire domain of Talmudic and rabbinic literature as thoroughly as Joseph Caro who was twice his age.

Isserles, too, realized the necessity of a code in which the scattered and confused material of rabbinic Judaism was to be gathered and in which all conflicting opinions were to be finally decided. But inasmuch as Joseph Caro had anticipated him in this respect by compiling his "Ready Table" (Shulhan Aruch), all that remained for Isserles to do was to add glosses and corrections to Caro's work to which he gave the title of "Mappa" (Cloth). Isserles drew his glosses from German rabbinic sources; and since the German Jews had ever been more scrupulous than the rest of their coreligionists, Isserles' glosses proved rigorous. His decisions gained immediate and absolute recognition among the Jews of Poland and Germany, and the "Ashkenazim," this very day, regard them as the religious norm, as official Judaism. Inasmuch as he did not invent or introduce but merely affirmed these rigorous decisions, it can hardly be asserted that it was Isserles' intention to increase the austerity of rabbinic Judaism; he simply followed the general tendency. Had not Isserles introduced these decisions in Caro's code, somebody else would have done so.

At any rate, Isserles possessed a sense of appreciation for extra-Talmudic branches, too, and for astronomy above all. He wrote a commentary on Frohbach's astronomic work "Theorica," and was fond of philosophy, too, though his acquaintance with it was limited to Hebrew works on the subject. Maimonides' "Guide" was also his guide, and on this account he was sharply rebuked by the uncompromising Solomon Luria.

History, too, atracted Isserles, and because of his interest in this subject, he induced one of his disciples to make a serious study of it. David Gans (b. in Westphalia 1541—d. Prague 1613) came to Cracow as a youth to attend the rabbinic academy of that city; but Isserles who reared him involuntarily quickened his innate love for scientific pursuits, for history, geography, mathematics and astronomy. Gans devoted himself to these studies, made the personal acquaintances of the two leading mathematicians and astronomers of his day, Kepler and Tycho de Brache, and wrote several works on these subjects in Hebrew. His chronicle "Zemah David," consisting of annals of Jewish and general history, became particularly famous. It was quite an achievement for a German Jew to acquire a knowledge of such uncommon subjects. It must be admitted, however, that David Gans' chronicle, giving a mere skeleton of bare, dry historic facts (a style formerly employed by dull monks and already then giving way to an artistic presentation) is of little importance as history, its only merit consists in the circumstance that it reminded those who were absorbed in the Talmud that there was another world beyond the Law, and that a long series of historic events had preceded them.

These three eminent rabbis, Shachna, Luria and

Isserles it was who lent lustre to the Polish Talmudic academies. Every complicated question was submitted to them for authoritative decision by the rabbis of Germany, Moravia, Bohemia and even by those of Italy and Turkey. The unruly conduct of the community of Prague which was beyond the control of the local rabbinate was checked by these Polish rabbis when their attention was called to it. Passionate dissensions in Frankfort-on-the-Main which threatened to bring a persecution or an expulsion in their train were quieted by the rabbis of Poland. This rabbinic triumvirate thus established a certain universally recognized supremacy over nearly all European Jewry.

As a result of the activity of this triumvirate whose numerous desciples emulated their example, nearly every Polish Jew became a thorough Talmudic student, capable even of occupying the rabbinical office. Even in small communities which contained only fifty members there were at least twenty Talmudic scholars with a rabbinic school in which at least thirty students received instruction. Schools sprang up everywhere over each of which a rabbi presided whose chief function it was to deliver lectures on Talmudic subjects. The youth of Poland flocked to these academies and they were supported in comfort either out of congregational funds or by wealthy individuals. Boys were dedicated to the study of the Talmud from their earliest childhoood, to the detriment of the natural development of their minds, to be sure. Supervisors were appointed to watch over the diligence of students (Bahurim) and the children. These gradually developed a curriculum for Talmudic instruction during the summer and winter semesters that remained in force up to comparatively recent days.

At the end of the semester, all Talmudic teachers with their numerous disciples proceeded to the chief

Polish fairs, in summer to Zaslav and Yaroslav, and in winter to Lemberg and Lublin. In this way several thousand Talmudic students came together, and a lively exchange of comments and subtleties on Talmudic-rabbinic subjects ensued. Public discussions were held in which every one participated. Ingenious youths were rewarded for their ingenuity on these journeys by rich brides, for it was the ambition of rich parents to obtain well-trained Talmudists for sons-in-law, and they sought for them at these fairs. Through this excessive devotion to the study of the Talmud, the Jews of Poland assumed a Talmudic demeanor, as it were, that found expression in every motion and utterance in ungraceful shrugging of shoulders, in a peculiar motion of the thumb. Every ordinary or business conversation assumed the character of a Talmudic dispute. Talmudic words, designations, phrases, turns and allusions crept into the Jewish vernacular, and were intelligible even to women and children.

But this excessive devotion to the study of the Talmud in Poland proved of little advantage to Judaism. For this zeal aimed not at reaching a correct understanding of the Talmud but at finding in it something peculiar, far-fetched, striking, that would tickle the intellect. When the Talmudists gathered at the fair by the thousands, each one sought to outdo the other in advancing something surprising and subtle without regard to its validity or even relative truthfulness, but solely with the view of gaining a reputation for ingenuity. The chief aim of the Talmudic scholars of Poland was to advance something novel in Talmudic discussions (Hiddush), and to develop sophistic arguments and hair-splitting reasoning (Hillukim). As a result, the entire mode of thinking of the Polish Jews became perverted, and their language degenerated into a jargon, a mixture of German, Polish and Talmudic elements, which was all the more repugnant on account of its quibbling character and its sing-song. This barbarous language that disdained all forms could be understood only by the native Jews. With the corruption of their language, the Polish Jews exposed themselves to the ridicule and the contempt of the non-Jews. The knowledge of the Scriptures which had suffered a general and gradual decline in the course of several centuries disappeared entirely in Poland, and those who at all engaged in the study of the Bible did so only for pilpulistic purposes.

Circumstances were such at that time that the Jews of Poland could form a state within a state. Several kings in succession favored them to the extent of confirming their extensive privileges and of protecting their rights insofar as it lay within their power. The elective monarchy which followed upon the death of Sigismund II, the last Jagellon king, stood the Jews of Poland in good stead. For every newly-elected king needed money in the first place, which only the Jews could furnish, or he needed the support of the nobles, and, in consequence, the nobility which was generally friendly to the Jews gained preponderance over the narrow-minded burghers who were Germans for the most part and hostile to the Jews. The first elective king, Henry of Anjou (1572), a bloodthirsty fanatic who participated with his brother Charles IX, of France, in the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was hostile to the Jews despite the fact that he owed his election largely to the influence of Solomon Ashkenazi, the diplomatic agent of the Turkish grand vizier. During his brief reign, he encouraged the Catholic clergy to oppress the Jews, and the charge of ritual murder was raised against them in Lithuania. Fortunately for the Jews, he fled to France after a reign of five months when he was informed that his brother Charles IX had died. After an interregnum of thirteen months and a long contest and many intrigues, the choice fell upon the wise Stephen Bathori, prince of Transylvania, probably as in the case of Henry of Anjou, through the influence of Solomon Ashkenazi, since the Turkish court favored Bathori's election. A short time after his accession (1576) he took the Jews of Lithuania under his protection, and denounced as a malacious lie the charge of ritual murder. His reign of nearly twelve years (1575-1586) forms a pleasant period in the history of the Jews of Poland. He granted the Jews (1578) unlimited commercial freedom, permitted them to buy and sell even on Christian holidays, and notified the magistrates of the cities that he would hold them responsible for any outrage committed upon synagogs, cemeteries and the dead bodies of Jews by the Christian rabble. The organizer of a riotous attack upon the Jews which occured for the most part in the semi-German city of Posen, and the magistrate who failed to protect the Jews were to be fined in the sum of ten thousand Polish marks each. There was, indeed, no lack of instigations against them during Bathori's reign. Was there any country in Christian Europe at that time in which the tongue of malice did not hiss at the Jews? But Bathori's strong arm held them in check.

Under the long reign of the Swedish prince Sigismund III (1587-1632), whose election set the precedent for internal strife and civil wars, the condition of the Jews was made much better than was to be expected from a pupil of the Jesuits and a zealous Catholic. Although he persecuted the Polish dissidents, the Jews enjoyed comparative quietude during his reign. At the diet of Warsaw

(1592) he confirmed the ancient privilege granted the Jews by Casimir. Only a single law issued by Sigismund III proved detrimental to them, and betrayed his bigotry. This was to the effect that Jews must obtain the permission of priests whenever they wished to erect new synagogs, thus making the public worship of the Jews dependent upon the intolerant Church.

In the course of the sixteenth century the communal life of the Polish Jews reached a high degree of development. Every Jewish community was governed by a "Kahal," * or Board composed of ten to forty members in accordance with the size of the community. This Kahal was elected annually during the half-holidays of the Passover Festival by "electors" who had been chosen at a general assembly. Eligible to the Board were the leading men of the city, the judges, and communal workers. Seven members constituted a quorum, and their decisions were binding upon the whole community. The function of the Kahal was to collect the government taxes and to deliver them to the government, to apportion these taxes among the members of the community in accordance with their ability to pay, to provide for the maintenance of the synagogs, and hospitals, and to take charge of the cemeteries. The Kahal certified to all commercial transactions between the community and individuals, Jews and Christians, supervised the lower and the higher religious schools and charitable and philanthropic activities, and, in conjunction with the rabbis and judges, decided questions of infringement between individuals and the community. In the course of time, with the increase

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* In the description of the institution of the Kahal and in the history of the "Council of the Four Lands" I have followed Rabinowitz (Vol. VII, pp. 350-55), who differs from Graetz in several essential points on the latter subject, in the light of Harkavy's and Bershadski's later investigations.—Tr.

of intercommunication and the occasional differences that arose between community and community, the need became evident that the rabbis and the heads (Parnassim) of the communities should convene on stated occasions to settle all such controversies, and to enact ordinances for the guidance of all the communities of the great kingdom; and this need gave rise to the "Council of the Lands," a unique institution, hitherto unknown in Jewish history in such a form.

As far back as in the days of Sigismund I, the rabbis and the heads of the various communities of Little and Great Poland used to gather at the fairs which usually attracted great multitudes of people and utilized the occasion for the settlement of controversies between individuals and differences between communities. In the course of time, the Polish government, in accordance with its policy of promoting the unity of Polish Jewry by conferring especial authority upon the rabbis and leaders of the Kahal in order to facilitate the collection of the Jewish taxes, lent its official recognition to these gatherings, and it was finally decided to hold these meetings at stated periods in the cities of Lublin, Posen, Cracow and Lemberg. Thus there arose (either under Sigismund Augustus or under Stephen Bathori) the "Council of the Four Lands," (Vaad Arba Arazoth), composed of Great Poland (Posen), Little Poland (Cracow), Russia (Podolia and Eastern Galicia—Lemberg), and Volhynia (after the union of 1569—Ostrog or Vladmir). At a much later period (after 1620), a similar Council was organized in Lithuania and was composed of the rabbis and the representatives of Brest, Grodno and Pinsk, to which Vilna and Slutsk were added later on. Though the Lithuanian Council was an independent body, it sent delegates to the "Council of Four Lands" when questions in which both countries were concerned came up for consideration. In addition to these two national councils, each province had a separate "Provincial Council" that acted as intermediary between the individual communities and the national councils. The organization of the national councils was modeled after the Polish Diet, and that of the Provincial councils after that of the smaller Provincial assemblies. The national councils were composed of deputies from the larger communities, learned, trustworthy men; and these deputies elected a president who guided the deliberations of the council and kept a record of the proceedings (Pinkas). The council occupied itself with settling dissensions in the communities, the apportionment of taxes, religious and moral ordnances, ways and means of averting dangers, the common assistance of suffering brethren, and the censorship of books by issuing permits for the publication and sale of certain books, and denying the same for other books which they regarded as prejudicial. These assemblies exerted a highly beneficial influence upon Polish Jewry. They emphasized the Jewish autonomy, lent to the scattered Jewish communities a sense of unity, prevented dissensions, promoted the common interests, and thereby counteracted the narrow, self-seeking local interests. For these reasons, the Polish-Jewish councils were highly respected abroad; even distant German communities or individuals who had any grievances appealed to this supreme tribunal for redress, or submitted their religious problems to it.

It speaks well for the modesty of the men who guided these councils for nearly two centuries that their names, worthy of all renown, remained hidden in obscurity, as though they had intentionally effaced their personalities for the sake of the common good. Even those men of first magnitude remained unknown, who succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task of the unification of Polish Jewry, of overcoming their doubly anarchic tendencies, as Jews and as Poles, and of inducing them to submit to a central authority. The first rabbi who is known to have presided at "The Council of the Three Lands" was Mordecai Jaffa (1530-1612). Born in Prague, he came to Poland as a youth to study under Moses Isserles and Solomon Luria. Upon his return to Prague he opened an academy (Yeshibah) of his own when he was compelled to flee on account of the persecutions of 1561, and wandered to Venice. He remained in Italy for about ten years, and while there, dissatisfied with Caro's *Shulhan Aruch* and Isserles' glosses thereto, he wrote a code of his own (Lebushim), of which five volumes were published. Returning to Poland, he officiated as rabbi in Grodno, Lublin, Kremenetz and Posen successively, and it was while at Lublin that he presided over the national council. His successor in the presidency was, it seems, Joshua Falk Cohen, the head of the Lemberg academy (1592-1616), a great institution maintained by his wealthy and prominent father-in-law. The Jewish councils may have taken for their model the frequent synods held in the various cities of Poland by the dissidents, Calvinists and anti-trinitarians with their various factions; but the former, unlike the latter, occupied themselves not with hair-splitting articles of faith, but with practical, vital questions.

Poland and Lithuania were at that time disrupted by religious dissensions. When the clash of battle between the followers and the opponents of the Reformation had already subsided, the Titans had been transformed into commonplace pastors, and the new church, on her part, had become narrow and intolerant and lost her youthful vigor. Poland was a hotbed of religious dissensions. The German colonies of Poland had transplanted the Reformation in that country, and the Polish nobility regarded it as a matter of fashion to adopt the anti-papal innovation. On the whole, Christianity, in its Catholic form, was as yet too new in Poland and in Lithuania to strike deep root; and the Reformation, meeting with little resistance, found ready and almost precipitate acceptance on the part of the nobility and the burghers. King Sigismund Augustus gave the movement free scope, and, under the influence of the Radziwills of Lithuania, was on the point of proving disloyal to the papacy. Thus Poland became the battleground for the Lutheran and Calvinistic doctrines. Even such enthusiasts who had been persecuted in Italy, Switzerland or Germany either by the Catholics or by the Reformers, and who wished to continue their religious agitation, found a ready welcome in Poland under the protection of the nobility who exercised absolute authority in their own domains. Among these were Secin, Blandrata and Paruta, disciples of Servetus who was burned in Geneva, who denied the doctrine of the trinity and founded the sect of Unitarians or Anti-trinitarians. There arose in consequence a multiplicity of sects that gathered in synodal assemblies for the purpose of uniting, but separated in a greater state of disruption than ever.

Among the Unitarians there were some who approached Judaism closely, and who, in particular, denied the divinity of Jesus. One of the leading Unitarians of Poland was Simon Budny of Masovia, a Calvinistic pastor, who founded a sect of his own, the Budnians. He was more learned than the leaders of the other sects, understood Greek and some Hebrew which he probably learned from the Jews, and gained especial fame by his translation of the Old and the New Testament into Polish. Through his contact with the Jews he learned to respect the Talmud which was usually so maligned by the entire Christian world.

Although this reformatory movement in Poland, despite its frequent synods, disputations and protestations, did not leave a lasting impression upon the Polish people, it was not without its effect upon the Jews. The Jews readily entered into disputations with the sectarians, not in an effort to convert them to Judaism, but to justify their own position. Religious discussions between Jews and Dissidents (a name applied to all Poles who had forsaken the Catholic Church), occurred not rarely. Martin Czechowic, a unitarian of Great Poland, a man of flighty nature who changed his religion many times, wrote a book in which he sought to refute the Jewish objections to the Messiahship of Jesus, and attacked the lasting validity of Judaism. A rabbinic Jew, Jacob of Belzyce, wrote in Lublin (1581) a refutation that must have been so keen that Czechowic found it necessary to write a rejoinder in defense of his assertions. The Karaite, Isaac ben Abraham Troki (of Troki, near Vilna; about 1533-1594), engaged in disputations with the Polish and Lithuanian adherents of various denominations even more than Jacob of Belzyce. Isaac Troki had access to the higher Christian circles, was well versed in the Old and the New Testaments, and was familiar with the religious polemic literature of his time, and thus well equipped for religious disputations. Shortly before his death (1593), he compiled the arguments he had advanced in his religious discussions in a book which he called "Hizuk Emunah" (The Strengthening of Faith). This book, the only readable work written by a Karaite, does not confine itself to a defense of judaism, but boldly and skillfully attacks the very foundations of Christianity, and points out the contradictions and the untenable assertions of the gospels and other Christian writings. Isaac Troki's book really contained nothing original, but was a repetition of the arguments advanced more skillfully by the Spanish-Jewish thinker Profiat Duran in a former generation; but Troki's book was fortunate enough to attract attention, was translated into Spanish, Latin, German and French, and the rejoinders which it provoked among the defenders of Christianity, among whom was the Duke of Orleans, spread its fame far and wide. Subsequently, the keen French Enclylopedists and other free-thinking philosophers who sought to undermine the very foundation of Christianity drew their materials from Isaac Troki's book.

* In the Muscovite kingdom that bordered on Lithuania and the Ukraine in the northeast, which had already become a considerable power under Ivan III and Ivan IV (the Terrible), not one Jew was found in the sixteenth century. When Sigismund Augustus of Poland, soon after his accession (1550), opened negotiations with Czar Ivan IV for the prolongation of peace, and demanded among other conditions, that the Lithuanian Jews be given the right to trade in Muscovy, the czar rejected this condition with these words: "We do not desire these people who brought us poison for body and soul; they sold deadly herbs among us, and blasphemed our Savior." Seventy years before, a certain Jew, Zechariah, founded a Jewish sect in Russia which attracted even priests and a metropolitan by name of Zosima. This Judaizing sect remained in existence till the beginning of the sixteenth century, but its members were persecuted when detected. For this reason the Jews were not

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* This paragraph is abridged from Rab. Vol. VIII, p. 357.

tolerated in Russia at all. Thirteen years later (1563), when Ivan the Terrible captured Polotsk in White Russia, which had belonged to Lithuania, he gave its Jews the choice between baptism and death; and, upon his order, three hundred Jews who refused baptism were drowned in the Dvina. During the confusion that prevailed in Russia in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Muscow boyars consented to recognize as Czar the Polish crown-prince Vladislav, son of Sigismund III, upon certain conditions, one of which (the fourth) was to the effect that "Catholics be not permitted to settle or rebuild a church, and that Jews be not allowed even to sojourn for purposes of trade on Muscovite soil." No further mention of the Jews in Russia is made until the reign of the Romanoff czar, Alexis Michaelovich, at the time of the Cossack rebellion of 1648-1655.

The spirit of freedom that animated the nations of Europe in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and that led them to great expectations of religious and even political liberty, seems to have been completely crushed in the second half of the same century. The papacy or Catholicism recovered from its first panic; the Council of Trent gave it a new lease of life and power; and the extraordinary zeal of the Jesuits enabled the Church to regain her lost ground. Italy, a considerable portion of Southern Germany, the Austrian countries, France, after prolonged convulsions and civil wars consequent upon the massacre of St. Batholomew and the murder of the kings, and Poland and Lithuania for the most part had become Catholic again, and even as fanatic as Spain and Portugal, the flaming hells of the stakes. In Lutheran Germany another papacy became supreme, the papacy of the dry creed, the bondage of the letter. Quarrels over insignificant articles of faith and meaningless words split the evangelical communities in numerous sects and factions and retarded political reorganization. The study of the classic languages which, in the beginning, had a liberating and humanizing effect was neglected and degenerated into pedantry. The study of the Hebrew language which was fostered with so much enthusiasm at first was likewise neglected, or pursued only superficially for the purpose of theological squabbles. The rabbinic literature which was such a favorite in the storm and stress period of the Reformation was now entirely out of the question. In strictly Catholic circles the very knowledge of the Hebrew language was regarded as heresy. When the learned Spanish theologian Arias Montanus published in Antwerp the first complete polyglot Bible (1569-72) at the expense of Philip II, and prepared at the same time grammars and dictionaries for the Hebrew and cognate languages, in which he paid due regard also to older Jewish exegetes, he was charged by the inquisition with heresy and stigmatised as a rabbi. European Christian society thus seemed to enter upon a period of retrogression; but with the difference that what was formerly cheerful, naive credulity became a gloomy bigotry.

This gloomy religiosity which created the tension that finally led to the mutual annihilation of the Thirty Years' War, rendered the condition of the Jews both in Catholic and in Protestant countries intolerable. Luther's adherents in Germany forgot the kind words he had spoken in favor of the Jews at first, and remembered only the malicious words he uttered against them before his death. Thus the Jews of Berlin and of Brandenburg were given the wretched choice between expulsion and baptism, because the Jewish finance minister, the favorite of the Elector Joachim II, was guilty of fraudulent financial transactions, and the physician Lippold, when placed under torture by Joachim's successor, John George, confessed that he had poisoned his benefactor, Joachim, though he denied it afterward. Duke Henry Julius expelled the Jews from Brunswick. The Catholic peoples and princes had no occasion to charge their Protestant opponents with tolerance and humanity. It was somewhat fortunate for the Jews of Germany and of the Austrian patrimonial dominions that the emperor, Rudolph II, though a pupil of the Jesuits, reared in the land of the ever-smoking stakes, and a mortal enemy of the Protestants, displayed no particular prejudice against the Jews. Even though, because of his lack of firmness, he was not able to check the persecutions against them, he at least did not encourage such persecutions. Once he issued an order to the Bishop of Würzburg not to deprive the Jews of their privileges, and, another time, he ordered the Bishop of Passau to desist from inflicting torture upon the Jews (1577). However, to avert the suspicion that he was a patron of the Jews, he issued a decree that they be expelled from the archduchy of Austria within a period of six months. Thus, trampled underfoot by Catholics and Lutherans alike, protected but little by the emperor, but drained dry by him in turn, the German Jews became more demoralized than ever.

The Jews of Italy at this time fared almost worse, and they, too, sank into misery and demoralization. Here was the chief seat of the relentless, sullen ecclesiastical reaction whose sole aim was the annihilation of the opponents of Catholicism. It was from the Vatican that the torch of civil wars was hurled into Germany, France and the Netherlands. Inasmuch as, ever since the days of Paul IV and Pius V, the Jews were included among the heretics and the enemies of the Church, their lot was an unenviable one. Their number diminished; in southern Italy there were no Jews left. In northern Italy the large communities of Venice and Rome numbered not more than between two thousand and fifteen hundred souls. Gregory XIII (1572-1585) followed in the footsteps of his predecessor Pius V. Despite repeated interdicts, there were still Christians in Italy who, in their blindness, preferred to be treated by skilled physicians like David de Pomis and Elijah Montalto rather than by Christian quacks. Gregory was determined to put a stop to such a procedure. He revived the ancient canonical law which forbade sick Christians employing a Jewish physician, and punished severely not only the Christian violators of that law, but also the Jewish physicians who ventured to prolong the life of a Christian sufferer or even to alleviate his pain. This severity proved effective. Another Gregorian law placed all Jews under the Argus eyes of the general inquisition. Any Jew guilty of heretical utterances, who associated with or gave the least succor to a heretic or an apostate might be condemned by the inquisition to forfeiture of his property, to the galleys, or even to death. Thus, if a Marano escaped from Spain or Portugal to Italy and his Jewish brother gave him shelter or comfort, both exposed themselves to the relentless vengeance of the inquisition. Gregory XIII vented his wrath upon the Talmud, too. The Jews were ordered to deliver over the Talmudic and other books suspected of teaching hostility to the Church. The inquisitorial and other ecclesiastical tribunals were requested to search the Jewish houses for such books. Any Jew in whose possession such a book was found later on, even though the book had been expurgated and censored, was to be punished severely.

Gregory XIII devoted himself above all to bring about the conversion of the Jews. With this object in view he issued a canonical law to the effect that Christian preachers should deliver discourses on Christian doctrines on Sabbaths and holidays in Hebrew, when possible, and that at least a third of the Jewish community, both sexes above twelve years of age, must be present on such occasions. He admonished the Catholic princes to imitate his example in their respective localities. What a half-crazy schismatic pope (Benedict XIII) decreed in a moment of passionate excitement Gregory sanctioned in cold blood. It is characteristic of the spirit of that age that the Jews were compelled to pay the salaries of those preachers whose discourses were so repugnant to them. Like his predecessor, Pius V, Gregory left nothing undone to entice the Jews. His bulls were not dead letters, but were executed with all severity and harshness. While some Jews succumbed to the allurements which Gregory held out to them if they embraced Christianity, many others preferred voluntary exile, and left the papal states.

Under his successor, Sixtus V (1585-90), the pope whose elevation from the position of a swineherd to that of the chief shepherd of Catholic Christendom, and whose reckless energy in the administration of the papal states have stamped him as an unusual character, the condition of the Roman Jews changed for the better. He tolerated the Jews, and held in high favor a Marano by the name of Lopez, who had fled from Portugal and who acted as his adviser in the improvement of the financial affairs of the papal states. Sixtus issued a bull (Oct. 22, 1586), which revoked almost all the restrictions imposed upon the Jews by his predecessors. He permitted the Jews not only to live in all the cities of the papal states, but also to associate with Christians and to employ them as assistants in business. He safeguarded their religious liberty, and granted them amnesty for past offences, that is, for possessing their religious books. He forbade the Knights of Malta to capture and enslave the Jews who traveled on sea from Europe to the Levant or the other way—a practice in which these warriors dedicated to God had indulged hitherto. Pope Sixtus was a man whose word inspired respect, and, for this reason, the Jews who had been formerly banished returned to the papal states. During his papacy, the Roman Jewish community grew again to two hundred members. This severely just pope condemned to death a Roman Christian named Secchi who, a Christian Shylock, demanded a pound of flesh from a Jew, Sansone Ceneda, in accordance with the terms of a wager, because he held the life of the Jew too cheaply. The Jew, too, he condemned to death because he had staked his life. Sixtus finally annulled the interdict which prevented Jewish physicians from treating sick Christians, but he left in force the compulsory sermons introduced by his predecessors.

The permission granted Jewish physicians to practice among Christians, a momentous act of tolerance at that time, was obtained from the pope probably through the influence of the then famous physician David de Pomis (1525-1588). De Pomis was a man of extraordinary ability. With his medical knowledge he combined a knowledge of languages and a familiarity with Jewish and classic literature, and was a master of Hebrew and Latin. In the course of his career he was affected most keenly by the changes of atitude in the papal curia. As a result of the hostile edicts of Paul IV he lost his entire fortune. Pius IV, in consequence of a fine Latin address he delivered before this pope and the College of Cardinals, gave him the exceptional privilege of practicing among Christians. But again subjected to annoying restrictions by Pius V, he could practice his profession only among petty and capricious nobles. In an effort to overcome the prevailing prejudice against the Jews in general, and against the Jewish physicians in particular, de Pomis wrote a Latin book, "The Hebrew Physician" (published in Venice, 1588), which bears honorable testimony to his nobility of character and to his superior learning. De Pomis, in eloquent words, adduces proof that the Jew is in duty bound, in accordance with the precepts of his religion, to love the Christian as his brother, and that the Jewish physicians, instead of injuring their Christian patients, have ever treated them with the utmost care. He enumerates a line of Jewish physicians who had treated and restored to health prelates, cardinals and popes, and who had received distinctions at their hands as well as at the hands of entire cities. In conclusion he cites pithy sayings from the Talmud to prove that this much maligned book was not so pernicious as the enemies of the Jews claimed. This apologetic for Judaism and for the Jewish physicians which he dedicated to Prince Francisco Maria of Urbino, and the elegant Latin style of which was highly praised by one of the great Latin stylists of his day, seems to have made an impression upon Pope Sixtus. De Pomis must, at any rate, have had access to the pope, since he ventured to dedicate to him his second important literary work, *Zemah David*, a Talmudic dictionary in three languages.

The favorable attitude of this pope towards them encouraged the Jews to hope that he would remove the ban upon the Talmud and Jewish literature for all time—a matter which was of vital importance not only to their conscience but to their very existence. Under the last two popes no Jew in Italy could be in possession of a copy of the Talmud without exposing himself to the danger of attracting the attention of the all-seeing inquisition. Even the possession of entirely harmless Hebrew books was fraught with danger; inasmuch as the inquisitors and ecclesiastical tribunals could not distinguish one from the other, they condemned them all alike as hostile to the Church. This gave the informers a wide scope for denunciations. It depended entirely upon the humor of Jewish apostates who understood Hebrew whether the possessor of a Hebrew book was to be condemned to forfeit his property or be sent to the galleys. To avert such dangers the communities of Mantua, Milan and Ferrara petitioned Sixtus V for permission to own copies of the Talmud and other books after the alleged anti-Christian passages had been expunged or censored. They referred to the decision of Pope Pius IV that the Talmud is not to be condemned in its entirety, but only in a few objectionable passages that should be stricken out by the censor. Provided with two thousand scudi, a Jewish deputy, Bezalel Masserano, proceeded to Rome to lay the petition of the Jews at the feet of His Holiness, and the pope granted this petition in a bull (Oct. 22, 1586). Sixtus gave his permission for the publication of a new edition of the Talmud and other books, after they had been submitted to a censorship, of course. The Jews of Italy anticipated with joy the possession of a Talmud, though a multilated one. But the board of censors had hardly compiled the conditions of the censorship when the sagacious pope died (Aug. 7, 1590), and the publication of the Talmud was discontinued.

The consideration which Sixtus V showed the Jews was not always prompted by his sense of justice, but, for the most part, by his passion to accumulate vast treasures. The Jews were often necessitated to deliver vast sums of money to the papal treasury, but Sixtus, at least, alleviated their condition to some extent, with the accession of Clement VIII (1592-1605), on the other hand, the disinterested but intolerant system of Paul IV, Pius V and Gregory XIII returned. Clement banished the Jews from the papal states, and permitted them to live only in Rome, Ancona and Avignon. A Jew found in any other papal city was to forfeit his property and be sent to the galleys. Those tolerated in the three cities were subjected to the old restrictions.

The Jews who were banished from the papal states were received, it seems, by Ferdinand, Duke of Tuscany, who permitted them to settle in Pisa (July, 1593), and to possess books of all kinds, including the Talmud, provided they were first censored in accordance with the directions of the censorship commission appointed by Sixtus V. The fanaticism of the Holy See was so absolute that even gentle princes like Ferdinand de Medici of Tuscany and Vicenzo Gonzaga of Mantua dared not deviate from it. Even in those places where the Jews were permitted, as an act of kindness, to own censored books, they were exposed to annoyances and extortions of all kinds. They had to pay the censors, renegade Jews for the most part, for the mutilation of their books, and even then they were not yet sure that those books would not be confiscated again, and they themselves punished because one or another suspicious word remained in the text. To escape these vexations, the Jews themselves did violence to their literary possessions and crossed out not only every reference to idolatry contained therein, but also every statement which extolled the Jewish race or which referred to the Messiah and his appearance in the future. Inasmuch as Italy was the chief market for printed Jewish books, the Jews abroad received only mutilated copies, in which the open or tacit complaints against the daughter who treated her mother so mercilessly were completely silenced.

Expulsions of Jews from Italian cities, from Cremona, Pavia, Lodi and others, involving about ten thousand souls, were of frequent occurrence under this pope (spring, 1597); the exiles had to beg for shelter in Mantau, Modena, Reggio, Verona and Padua, and, in addition, were robbed by heartless Christians of their possessions upon their departure. The canonical sword was suspended also over the heads of the Jews of Ferrara which had even been a safe asylum for them and even for the Maranos. The ducal family d'Este, that rivaled the Medici in magnanimity and in the love of art, had become extinct. The Jews of Ferrara felt such a deep concern in the fate of this princely family, that when the noble-minded Princess Leonora, whom two great poets had glorified, fell seriously ill, they offered public prayers in the synagogs for her recovery. When Alfonso II, the last scion of this house, died without issue (1597), Ferrara was incorporated into the papal states by Clement VIII, in opposition to Alfonso's will. The Jewish community, composed for the most part of former Marano fugitives, made ready for exile, knowing that they could expect no toleration from this pope, and only asked Aldobrandini, the pope's nephew, who had taken possession of Ferrara, to give them sufficient time in which to make preparations for their departure. Aldobrandini, however realizing that the commerce of the city was largely in Jewish hands, and that the interests of the papal states would suffer from the expulsion of the Ferrara Jews, granted them toleration for five years against the will of Clement VIII. But a fugitive Marano could no longer, as heretofore, find refuge in Ferrara without falling into the clutches of the bloody inquisition. Thus the last asylum in Italy for this class of Jews was closed; and they could no longer find a place of refuge in Western or Central European Christendom.

CHAPTER II

THE RISE OF THE MARANO COMMUNITIES IN AMSTERDAM, HAMBURG AND BORDEAUX

(1593-1648)

It appeared once more like an act of Providence that the Jewish race which, at the end of the sixteenth century was practically homeless both in Europe and in Asia, in Christendom as under Islam, should have found a secure abode in the very land of its most stubborn enemy, Philip II of Spain, where it was to achieve equality. And, in the final analysis of cause and effect, it was the very bloody inquisitorial tribunal that assisted in paving the way for the freedom of Israel. Holland, that strip of land wrested from the sea, became a place of refuge for the victims of cruel fanaticism, where they could rest their weary bodies, and even develop their minds in accordance with their own genius. But how many vicissitudes did they have to undergo before this hardly suspected possibility became a reality?

The number of Jews in the northwest corner of Europe had ever been small. When the Netherlands became a Spanish possession under Charles

V, the Jews of the annexed country were subjected to the hostility which was characteristic of Spain. Charles issued repeated orders to expel the Jews, though few in number, from the cities of the Netherlands. It was made the duty of every citizen to inform the royal officials of the illegal presence of Jews. This was a particularly severe blow to several Marano families who had fled from Portugal in consequence of the introduction of the inquisition, and had established themselves in the flourishing cities of the Netherlands, in Antwerp, Brussels and Ghent, where they could practice their religion in secret with less danger. The magistrates carried out their master's order promptly on this point for fear that the presence of New-Christians might lead to the introduction of the abominable inquisition in their own midst.

But the Netherlands did not escape the inquisition after all; for, though an appanage of Spain, the country was surrounded by Lutheran heretics, and had such in its own midst. The introduction of the inquisition was one of the chief causes that led to the rebellion of the Netherlands and that brought on the long war which, small in its beginning, but momentous in its consequences, enfeebled the mighty Spain and raised the insignificant Holland to a power of almost first rank.

The Portuguese Maranos, who, even in the third generation, could not and would not forget their Jewish descent, turned their eyes with all the greater longing to the republics struggling for liberty the more the inquisition raged against them and dragged them to the dungeons and the stakes. With the first indication that fortune had deserted the banners of Spain, with the defeat of the invincible Spanish Armada by means of which Philip II sought to enslave body and soul not only the English, but also other peoples when possible, the yearning for freedom took possession of the hearts of the Maranos; and, since Italy was closed to them, as a result of the policy of intolerance pursued by the successors of Paul III, their only hope was the Netherlands. A prominent Jew, Samuel Pallache, who had been sent by the King of Morocco as consul to the Netherlands (about 1591) proposed to the magistrates of Middelborg (Province of Zealand), to admit Maranos and to grant them religious liberty in return for which they would transform that city into a flourishing commercial center by means of their wealth and their energy. The wise fathers of the city readily consented; but the war for religious and political liberty, carried on with such passion against the twofold Spanish despotism, had filled the reformed preachers also with fanaticism and intolerance, and they opposed the admission of Jews into Zealand. The Maranos, however, did not give up the hope of finding an asylum in the Netherlands that had already shaken off the Spanish yoke. They felt powerfully attracted to the republic with whose citizens they shared the burning hatred against the bloody Spain and its tyrant, Philip II. The great protector, William of Orange, the soul of the war of independence waged by the Netherlands, had declared himself in favor of a policy of mutual tolerance and friendly intercourse between different religious parties, denominations and sects; and though this first seed of a true humanity had borne no fruit as yet, the Maranos centered their hope upon it. A brave Marano woman, Mayor Rodrigues, seems to have determined upon the plan of making the first attempt to seek asylum for her family in Holland. She, her husband, Gaspar Lopez Homen, her two sons and daughters, as well as several members of this wealthy and prominent family, had remained loyal to Judaism, and had become weary of the hypocrisy of practising Christian customs which, after all, failed to protect them from the horrors of the inquisition.

Under the leadership of Jacob Tirado, a Portuguese Marano, ten Maranos, men, women and children, including the daughter and son of Mayor Rodrigues, after due precautions, succeeded in sailing from Portugal. It seems that Mayor Rodrigues counted upon the extraordinary beauty of her daughter, Maria Nuñes, to shield the fugitives from danger, and this really proved the case. Their ship, flying the Spanish-Portuguese flag, was captured by an English privateer in command of an English duke, and was taken to England. The captain was so captivated by Maria Nuñes' beauty that, under the impression that she was a member of the Portuguese nobility, proposed marriage to her, which she, however, declined. Taken to London with her fellow captives, her beauty attracted so much attention that Queen Elizabeth herself became curious to see the celebrated beauty who had refused the hand of a duke, invited her to an audience, and rode with her in an open carriage through the streets of the capital. It was probably through the intercession of Maria Nuñes that the Maranos were permitted to leave England unmolested to set sail for Holland. After a fearful storm that threatened their vessel with destruction, they arrived at Emden which, like Eastern Friesland in general, contained then but a few German Jews.

By means of Hebrew letters and other signs, the Maranos learned of the presence of coreligionists in this city; and their leader, Jacob Tirado, paid a visit to Moses Uri Halevi (1542-1620), who was regarded as a scholar, revealed his secret to him, and expressed his own desire and that of his comrades to discard the cloak of Christianity entirely, and to be initiated into Judaism at once, if possible. Moses Uri, fearing that the conversion to Judaism of seeming Christians would attract attention in a small town, advised the Maranos to proceed to Amsterdam where greater tolerance prevailed, promising that he would join them there with his family, and would remain with them and instruct them in the tenets of Judaism. In accordance with a prearranged plan, the Maranos, under Tirado, arrived in Amsterdam (April 22, 1593), sought out residences in close proximity to one another, and were initiated into Judaism upon the arrival of Moses Uri and his family. Moses Uri and his son, Aaron, fitted up a synagog, and acted as readers, and were zealously supported by not only Jacob Tirado, but also by the consul, Samuel Pallache, and by the Marano poet, Jacob Israel Belmonte, immigrated from Madeira, who described the horrors of the inquisition in a poem appropriately styled "Job." The number and influence of the new community was increased by new accessions. An English fleet in command of the Earl of Essex, which surprised the fortress of Cadiz and inflicted serious damage upon the Spaniards (summer, 1596), brought several Maranos to Holland, among them the eccentric Alonzo de Herrera, of mixed Jewish and Spanish blood, who achieved some importance in after days. A descendant of the great captain, Gonsalvo de Cordova, who had conquered Naples for Spain, he was the Spanish resident in Cadiz, and was captured by the English upon the fall of that city. Upon his release, he came to Amsterdam, embraced Judaism and assumed the name of Abraham de Herrera. He familiarized himself with Jewish literature so thoroughly that he became an adept of the Lurian mystic system and translated a cabalistic book into Portuguese.

But even in Amsterdam the practice of their religion did not prove such an easy matter for the Maranos. When this first Portuguese community celebrated the Day of Atonement for the fourth time (Oct., 1596), the Christian neighbors were struck by the muffled forms that stole into one and the same house, suspected a meeting of papist conspirators, and notified the authorities. While the Marano Jews were absorbed in their worship, armed men broke into the house and spread terror among the assembled worshippers. Inasmuch as the majority, still in terror of the attacks of the inquisition, and fearing a similar fate in Amsterdam, endeavored to seek safety in flight, the Amsterdam officials became even more suspicious. But Jacob Tirado, who could converse with the authorities in Latin, succeeded in convincing them that he and his comrades were not papists but Jews who had fled from the Moloch of the inquisition; that they had brought much wealth with them, and that they would attract many of their wealthy brethren from Spain and Portugal and thus increase the commercial prosperity of Amsterdam. Tirado's address made an impression; the prisoners were released, and the frightened Portuguese Jews could conclude their Atonement service. Inasmuch as their religious confession was no longer a secret, they ventured to petition the magistrates to permit them to build a synagog. After much deliberation, their request was granted. Jacob Tirado bought a site and erected thereon the first Jewish temple in northern Europe, called the "House of Jacob" (Beth Jacob, 1598), which the small community dedicated with great enthusiasm.

These good tidings reached Spain and Portugal in some mysterious way, and attracted new emigrants to Holland. Mayor Rodrigues Homen succeeded in escaping from Portugal together with her younger son and younger daughter and was reunited with her beautiful daughter Maria Nuñes (about 1598). At the same time there arrived from Portugal another prominent family that was on the point of falling into the clutches of the inquisition, the family Franco Mendes, consisting of the parents, two sons—Francisco Mendes Medeyros, a man of literary training, who adopted the Jewish name Isaac, and Chistoval Mendes Franco, who called himself Mordecai. These two played an important part in the Amsterdam community, but gave occasion to dissensions later on.

Philip II still lived to see the two races whom he hated and persecuted most bitterly, the Netherlanders and the Jews, joinhands to his own undoing. For Holland derived great benefit from the immigrated Portuguese Jews. Holland had hitherto been exceedingly poor, and the destructive wars empoverished the country still more. For this reason the capital which the Maranos gradually brought to Amsterdam was exceedingly welcome, and proved of great benefit to the entire country. It was this that enabled the Hollanders to lay the foundation of their greatness, since they wrested the Indian trade from the Portuguese, who were then under the Spanish dominion. Only the capital of the Maranos made possible the organization of great trans-Atlantic companies and the equipping of trading expeditions. The communication in which the Portuguese Jews stood with their secret coreligionists in the Portuguese-Indian possessions also helped to further the interests of the Hollanders.

Philip II died (Sept., 1598) as a horrible example for perverse and conscienceless despots. Ulcers and vermin covered his body and rendered him an object of abhorrence. The great empire which he left to his feeble son Philip III was also rotten to the core, and it soon dwindled into insignificance. The reins of the government slackened, and the Maranos, in consequence, found it much easier to escape the clutches of the inquisition and to reach their goal—Holland.

A remarkable incident occurred in Lisbon which filled even the most lukewarm Maranos with a burning desire to return to Judaism. Diogo de la Asumçao, a Franciscan monk, was led by his studies of the Bible to the conclusion that Judaism was the true and Christianity the false religion, and this conviction he announced openly to his fellow monks. As a matter of course, the inquisition cast him into a dungeon, and after an imprisonment of two years he was finally burned alive in Lisbon in a solemn auto-da-fé, in the presence of the viceroy (Aug., 1603) together with several other persons, including a Marano woman, Tamar Barocas. The fact that a born Christian, a monk, had suffered and died heroically for Judaism made a profound impression upon the Portuguese Maranos, and impelled them to acknowledge their ancestral faith openly, reckless of consequences. The inquisition had lost its terrors for them. A young poet, David Jesurun, upon whom the muse had smiled even in childhood and who was therefore called "the boy poet," extolled the heroic death of Diogo de la Asumçao in an impassioned Portuguese sonnet.

This young poet was fortunate enough to escape the inquisition and to reach Amsterdam in safety. The sight of that city that appeared to him like a new Jerusalem inspired him to the composition of a noble poem in Spanish which he called "The New Jerusalem." Another poetic youth of Marano descent, Paul de Pina, who was inclined to enter a monastic order, became attracted to Judaism through the tragic death of the Franciscan Diogo. He hastened to Amsterdam (1604), embraced Judaism with enthusiasm, adopted the Jewish name of

Rohel Jesurun, and achieved a place of honor in the Amsterdam community.

The attachment to Judaism which the Portuguese Maranos recklessly displayed since the martyrdom of the Franciscan Diogo naturally gave the inquisition an increased number of victims. Soon after, one hundred and fifty of these were cast into the dungeons of the inquisition and tortured into confessions. The regent of Portugal himself regarded it inadvisable to permit the burning of such a large number. Besides, the Marano capitalists had the Spanish court, to which Portugal too belonged since the union of the two kingdoms, in their power to a certain extent. Spain owed them huge sums which she was unable to pay on account of the increasing poverty of both countries. These Maranos offered to release Philip III from his debts and to present him with a gift of 1,200,000 crusados (about $600,000) in addition, if the imprisoned Maranos were pardoned. His advisers were won over by means of 150,000 crusados (about $75,000). The court was therefore inclined to mercy, and appealed to the pope to authorize the inquisition not to insist upon the death of the sinners this time. Clement VIII recalled or was reminded that his predecessors, Clement VII and Paul III, had granted absolution to the Portuguese Maranos. Accordingly he issued a bull of pardon for the incarcerated Maranos (Aug. 23, 1604). The inquisition, therefore, contented itself with the hypocritical repentance of the imprisoned. Several hundred of them were conducted in their penitential garments to the auto-da-fé in Lisbon (Jan. 10, 1605), not to ascend the stake, but merely, after making a public confession of their sins, to incur civil death. A great many of these liberated prisoners emigrated to Amsterdam; among them was Joseph ben Israel, who had been thrice tortured by the inquisition and finally escaped, broken in health and with the loss of his property. He brought with him his little son Manasseh, who was destined to fill a beautiful page in Jewish history.

Moses Uri had gradually admitted two hundred and forty-eight men into the covenant of Judaism, so rapidly did the number of the young Amsterdam community increase. They called a Sephardic rabbi from Salonica, Joseph Pardo, who well understood the character of the half-Catholic community, and he prepared for them a religious manual in Spanish that was more Christian than Jewish in tone. The synagog Beth Jacob, built by Jacob Tirado, soon proved inadequate for the large number of worshippers, and a new synagog (Neve Shalom) was erected (1608) by Isaac Francisco Mendes Medeyros and his family. Like the discoverers of a new land who keep a detailed record of every persons who participated in it, the young Amster- incident connected with their discovery, and of the dam community joyously recorded every incident that occurred in their midst. This peculiar community, half Jewish, half Catholic, was fortunate also in the choice of its second rabbi, Isaac Uziel (d. 1620), who understood their nature well. He was a poet, grammarian and mathematician, but above all a forceful preacher who dared rouse the conscience of his auditors, lulled to sleep by Catholic practices, to the realization that they can buy no indulgence for sins and vices by the mere observance of religious usages. Isaac Uziel spared not even the most prominent and influential members of the community, and thereby incurred their hatred that led to dissensions.

A memorable event for the community was the acquisition of a cemetery near the city (April, 1614). The first man buried there was Manuel Pimentel (with the Jewish name of Isaac Abenuacar), who was an intimate friend of Henry IV of France, with whom he used to play various games and was called by him the "king of players." Two years later there was brought to Amsterdam for interment the body of Elijah Felice Montalto, a former Marano, a great physician and an eloquent writer, who had lived in Leghorn, Venice, and finally in Paris as physician to Queen Maria de Medici, and who died in Tours (Jan., 1616) on a journey with the French court. The queen had his body embalmed and sent it to Amsterdam accompanied by his uncle, his son, and his disciple, Saul Morteira. For a considerable time the Amsterdam Jews were compelled to pay a tax to the churches which the funeral procession had to pass on its way to the cemetery. On the whole, they were at first not officially tolerated but merely overlooked. There even prevailed at first the suspicion that, under the mask of Jews, they were acting spies for Catholic Spain and were bent on treason. Even after the authorities and the population had become convinced of their thorough hatred of Spain and Portugal, they failed to recognize them and to tolerate them as a separate religious denomination. This intolerance in the land where religious liberty reared its temple first was due to the passionate strife between two reformed parties, the Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, who fought each other. Under the circumstances, the Jews of course could expect no tolerance.

Meanwhile, the Jews, with the wealth and knowledge of the world which they brought with them, proved indispensable for Amsterdam, which was still a comparatively poor city. The inveterate prejudices against them gradually disappeared upon closer contact with them. The education which they had acquired in the higher schools of Spain and Portugal, their aristocratic bearing and the pompous names which were given them by their Christian god-fathers, stamped them as men of a higher station. They could, in a measure, appear as noblemen with whom some Christian burghers of Amsterdam regarded it as an honor to associate. They were therefore treated with a certain preference. Their number soon increased to four hundred families, and they owned three hundred houses in the city. In a short time a Hebrew printing house was established in Amsterdam which had not to fear the Argus eyes of the censor. Envious of the prosperity which redounded to Amsterdam through the coming of the Portuguese Jews, several Christian princes vied with each other in offering inducements to the Jews to settle in their respective domains. King Christian IV of Denmark addressed a letter to the Jewish leaders of Amsterdam to advise some of their members to settle in his states, promising them religious freedom and other favorable privileges. The Duke of Savoy and the Duke of Modena invited the Jews to settle respectively in Nice and in Reggio, and both promised to grant them extensive liberties. Thus, in the midst of intolerant Christendom, the two chief religious divisions which were then engaged in the internecine Thirty Years' War there were formed small friendly oases for the Jews where they could recover their lost liberty and gradually shake off the shackles of servitude.

Amsterdam, the Venice of the North, thus became a new Jewish center in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and could justly be styled a new, great Jerusalem. Every inquisitorial trial of Maranos in Spain and Portugal, every auto-da-fé increased the membership of the Amsterdam community as though the fanatics were determined to depopulate the arch-Catholic countries in order to increase the population and the wealth of the heretical states of the Netherlands. The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam engaged in large commercial enterprises, were interested in East Indian and West Indian companies, or conducted banking houses. The gold accumulated in Spain as a result of the discovery of America was partly in the hands of the Maranos.

But it was not on account of their wealth alone that they occupied such a prominent position in the Batavian emporium. The immigrated Maranos were, for the most part, men of education; in their unnatural mother country, Spain or Portugal, they had occupied prominent positions as physicians, lawyers, army officers, or as officials in church and state, and were therefore familiar with the Latin language and literature as well as with the humanities, and possessed the requisite social graces. In the Netherlands, then the most cultured part of Europe, whose statesmen treated the call of Scaliger, the prince of scholars, to the University of Leyden as a very important matter of state, the possession of humanistic education was in itself regarded as a special recommendation. Educated Jews, therefore, associated in Holland with Christian scholars on terms of equality. Individual Jews achieved a European reputation, and stood on intimate terms with Christian men of eminence. Abraham Zacuto Lusitano (1576-1642), great grandson of the historian and astronomer Abraham Zacuto, was one of the most famous physicians of his time. Born of Marano parents in Lisbon, he succeeded in escaping to Amsterdam where he could practice his profession and his religion without hindrance. Zacuto Lusitano conducted a correspondence with Prince Frederick of the Palatinate and his learned wife, that unfortunate royal couple of Bohemia whose ephemeral reign gave rise to the Thirty Years' War. Christian as well as Jewish scholars extolled him in prose and song, and in the letters and verses addressed to him there is no indication that anti-Jewish prejudices still prevailed. The stadholders of the Netherlands, the noble princes of the house of Orange-Nassau, Moritz, Henry and William II, were, like the founder of their house, William I. kindly disposed to the immigrated Jews, and treated them like full citizens. Even Spanish and Portuguese kings, who tormented the Maranos in their own lands, condescended, in the course of time, to bestow honors upon the descendants of their baited victims, to confer upon them official authority and to entrust them with consular business in particular.

The attachment of the Amsterdam Jews to the religion which they recently acquired, and at such a fearful cost, was very profound. This devotion was reflected in all their actions, and found expression in verses which, of course, they could write only in the language of their tormentors. Paul de Pina, or Rohel Jesurun, composed an antiphony in Portuguese on the occasion of the dedication of the first synagog, which was recited by several youths, representing the mountains of the Holy Land, Sinai, Hor, Nebo, Gerisim, Carmel, Zethim (Olives) and Zion, and which extolled the excellencies of Israel's faith, the Jewish law and the Jewish people in euphonious verses.

But in the background of glowing pictures there always loomed the horrible dungeons, the priests of Moloch, and the blazing flames of the inquisition. David Abenatar (fl. about 1600-1625), a profound poet, reflected most faithfully and vividly this feeling, at once joyous and gloomy, which characterized the Marano Jews of Amsterdam. Born in Spain of Marano parents, he had been seized by the inquisition, kept in a dungeon for several years, and cruelly tortured. When he succeeded in escaping, he imposed upon himself the task of paraphrasing the Psalms in Spanish verse. The melancholy and joyous strains of the Psalms he vivifies into an effecting picture of the present.

In this mood of exultation, produced by the constant recollection of the sufferings and tortures of the past, the members of the Amsterdam community founded all kinds of charitable institutions, orphans' homes, relief societies, hospitals, and supported them with a generosity unknown in the older communities. They had both the means and the proper sympathy for such undertakings. Their pity expressed itself in benevolence and liberality. But however exaulted their mood may have been, they were human beings with human passions, and therefore there arose discords too in the young community. Many members, born and reared in Catholicism, retained their Catholic conceptions and habits, believing that these could be reconciled with Judaism. "Can anyone carry coal in his lap without burning his garments?" From infancy the Maranos had heard and seen that one may sin if he only make his peace with the Church from time to time. It was for this very purpose that the Catholic priesthood was called into being: to grant absolution and to save sinners from the fires of hell after death by ritual means. In the eyes of most Maranos, the rites of Judaism represented the Catholic sacraments, and the rabbis the priests and confessors. They believed they could yield to the impulses of their passions without endangering the salvation of their souls. At any rate, the rabbis could grant absolution. The moral conduct of the Amsterdam Maranos was very reprehensible. The first two rabbis of the Amsterdam community, in consideration of the circumstances, connived at moral delinquency. But the third, Isaac Uziel, could not contain himself, and bitterly attacked from the pulpit the evil habits of the half-Jews, half-Catholics. These strictures offended some members of the community, and these were filled with anger at the severe preacher. Several of them, with David Osorio at their head, seceded from the congregation, organized a new one (1618), and elected the preacher David Pardo as their rabbi. The community was thus split in two.

Meanwhile, German Jews, driven from their ghettoes by the fury of the Thirty Years' War, also sought asylum in Amsterdam, and were admitted. The authorities of Amsterdam who formerly had merely connived at the immigration and settlement of the Jews in their midst, now openly encouraged such immigration. The Jews were subjected to no restrictions, enjoyed absolute civil equality with the Christian population with the exception that they could hold no office, to which, however, they did not even aspire. In consequence of the treaty of peace concluded between the Netherlands and Spain and Portugal, the representatives of Holland even demanded that in the rights of undisturbed residence in the latter countries conferred upon them by the terms of the treaty, no distinction be made between the Jewish and the Christian subjects of the Netherlands. The immigrated German Jews could not, of course, join the Portuguese community because they differed from the latter not only in language, but also in conduct and manners. A wide gulf separated the Portuguese from their German coreligionists. The former looked upon the latter as semi-barbarians, while the latter refused to recognize the former as full Jews. As soon as they had a sufficient number, the German Jews organized a community with a rabbi of their own. The Portuguese Jews, however, regretted keenly the split in their own community, and through the efforts of Jacob Curiel, who later became the Portuguese resident in Hamburg, a reconciliation was finally effected. The union of the three synagogs into a single body (April, 1639) enabled the Portuguese community, through the harmonious coöperation of its forces, to enter upon a period of splendor; and this youngest community surpassed all its older sister communities of the three continents.

Upon the restoration of peace, the representatives of the united community established a school (Talmud Torah) in which both boys and youths were to receive instruction in all branches of the Jewish religion. It was perhaps the first school of its kind in Jewry in which a certain order and a graded curriculum were introduced. It consisted of seven classes, and the course of study led up from the Hebrew alphabet to the Talmud. Instruction was given also in Hebrew grammar, rhetoric and neo-Hebraic poetry—subjects never taught in any other Jewish institution. In the higher branches, the instructors were the rabbis or Chachams, at that time Saul Morteira and Isaac Aboab. These two men, who became famous beyond their merits, together with Manasseh ben Israel and David Pardo, constituted the first rabbinic tribunal. The richly equipped institution of learning became a rabbinical training school, and furnished rabbis for the Amsterdam community and for its colonies in Europe and America. It produced pupils whose influence extended far and wide, such as, for the sake of contrast, the confused cabalist Moses Zacuto and the clear-headed Baruch Spinoza.

It was rather unfortunate for the Amsterdam community that its first spiritual leaders who exerted an extraordinary influence were mediocre men. With the vast means at their disposal, with the culture that prevailed in the community, and with the devotion of its members to Judaism, the leaders could have accomplished wonders had they possessed a larger vision and a profounder spirit. Circumstances were unusually favorable for bringing about at that time a rejuvenescence of Judaism. But the first rabbinical college of Amsterdam was not equal to the occasion. David Pardo, it seems, was a man of little importance. Saul Morteira (b. about 1596; d. 1600), probably of Portuguese descent, who was elected preacher upon his coming to Amsterdam with the body of Elijah Montalto, lacked originality, and was neither a great scholar nor a great preacher. His colleague, Isaac Aboab de Fonseca (1606-1693), was of less importance still. He too was a native of Portugal, came to Amsterdam with his mother, and, under the instruction of Isaac Uziel, developed into an excellent and popular preacher. But a well-worded, fervent and interesting sermon is not always the product of solid knowledge and firm conviction. At least this was not the case with Aboab. Moreover, he was a man of irresolute character, was easily influenced, susceptible to flattery, and therefore wanting independence. To this man it was given to guide the Amsterdam community for three generations. Vital questions demanded solution, but he proved unequal to the task, possessing neither a comprehension of the past nor a vision for the future.

Of greater importance, by all means, was Manasseh ben Israel (1604-1657), a product of the Amsterdam community, a pupil of Isaac Uziel. Of a studious nature, he acquired a thorough familiarity with, though not a complete mastery of, the Bible and the Talmud, and a command of Hebrew, Portuguese, Dutch and Latin, as well as several other languages which he could speak and write with more or less fluency. Eloquent by nature, he developed into a preacher, with all the merits and defects of such. He became also a prolific writer, and though he too lacked originality, his literary productions were incomparably superior to those of his colleagues. What his contemporaries admired in him was not his profound comprehensive erudition, but his modest affability and his simplicity. Though familiar with profane literature and Christian theology, he clung tenaciously to traditional Judaism, was a firm believer in the cabala, and regarded every word in the Talmud and in the Zohar as a divine revelation.

Such were the men who were called upon to guide and instruct the young Catholicized and docile community of Amsterdam. Their power was great. Matters of general importance were discussed and decided upon in joint sessions of the directory elected by the community, and the rabbinate (Maamad). In matters religious, the rabbis or chachams were the sole authority, because the lay men, in the beginning at least, did not believe themselves competent to render an opinion. The decisions of the rabbinate were binding upon the community, and none ventured to question them. The government gave the directory and the rabbinate full liberty to impose ecclesiastical penalties, such as excommunication, upon recalcitrant members, and the former used that liberty and that power all too extensively. They had brought with them from Spain and Portugal the unholy zeal for the extermination of heresy. The Amsterdam rabbis introduced the innovation of constituting themselves an inquisitorial tribunal, as it were, for the judgment of religious opinions and convictions, and of instituting auto-da-fés—unbloody, to be sure, but none the less grievous to the persons concerned.

The character and the organization of the greatest Portuguese community in Europe exerted a mighty influence upon the course of Jewish history, for its daughter communities copied from their mother community, Amsterdam, not only her orderliness, dignity, piety and benevolence, but also her follies and perversities. The second community on Dutch soil was established in Rotterdam through the efforts of two pious and wealthy brothers, Abraham and David Pinto. The rabbis of this community and the head of the school which the Pintos founded was a young man, Josiah Pardo, who, however, gained no particular distinction. The Jews were to receive permission to settle in Haarlem too, and humanists, like the great philologist Joseph Scaliger, already rejoiced at the prospect; but intolerance gained the upper hand, and the permission was not granted at first. On the other hand, Portuguese communities arose in Northern Germany, beyond the Atlantic, and gradually also in other cities of the Netherlands.

An important Amsterdam colony was next founded in Hamburg. But how many obstacles had to be removed before the German prejudices and pedantry could be overcome! While the people of Amsterdam quickly appreciated the advantages that would accrue from a settlement of wealthy and intelligent Jews, the burghers of Hamburg resisted it with might and main. To the fanatic Lutherans it was an abomination to have Jews in their midst. A Jewish jeweller, Isaac of Salzufeln (in the duchy of Lippe), with twelve coreligionists who had been forced to seek new homes, made the attempt to settle in Hamburg. He petitioned the senate to receive them for twelve years, offering to pay three thousand thalers upon admission and an annual tax of four hundred marks. Isaac advanced every reason that could then be brought to bear upon their admission, and promised beforehand to submit to every condition which the senate might impose. But his efforts proved futile. Hamburg that was at that time delightfully absorbed in a parsons' quarrel over orthodoxy and heresy would have none of the Jews.

It is a rather ludicrous fact that while the burghers of Hamburg were resisting the temporary admission of Jews, they were already, without suspecting it, harboring Jews in their midst with whom they were associating daily. To be sure, those Jews bore the mask of Portuguese papists. For Maranos who fled from the inquisition had settled also in the Hanse town, and passed for Portuguese merchants whose presence proved of commercial advantage to the city. At the news that their comrades in Amsterdam, with whom they stood in communication, had openly embraced Judaism and were tolerated, they too raised their masks little by little, practised Jewish rites more openly, though they still continued to baptize their newly born children. Thereupon the Lutheran burghers set up a cry, and demanded that the senate would not tolerate the rich Jews who had come from Portugal or other places. But the senate—that is to say, the great wholesale merchants—were rather ashamed to treat these men of aristocratic bearing and of superior intelligence like vagrants or like Jews. Most of them had brought considerable capital, engaged in the trans-Atlantic trade with the newly discovered lands either independently or as representatives of great Spanish or Portuguese (i. e., Marano) firms. Included among the secret Jews of Hamburg was Rodrigo de Castro (b. 1560; d. 1627 or 1628), a physician who enjoyed great popularity in his day, who, with great self-denial, had performed heroic services during an epidemic, a gynecologist in whom women reposed great confidence. There was then generally, and particularly in Northern Germany, a scarcity of skilled physicians. The senate, therefore, considered it inexpedient to banish these Portuguese, and evaded the issue at first by an official denial that there were any Jews in Hamburg. The senate admitted afterward that there were Jews in Hamburg, but dclared that there were only seven heads of families, whereas there were in reality one hundred and twenty-five of these immigrants, including ten capitalists and two physicians.

While this evasion may have appeased the burghers, the Lutheran clergy who exerted a great influence in Hamburg and who were thoroughly imbued with Luther's hostility to the Jews, were by no means satisfied, and arraigned the senate for tolerating the Jews. To relieve its own conscience and to calm public opinion, the senate turned to the theological faculties of Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and of Jena with the question whether the toleration of the Jews was compatible with the Christian faith. The faculty of Frankfort answered in the affirmative, and expressed the hope that the Jews might ultimately be converted. The reply of the Jena faculty was written in the tone of a professor of Dominican theology of the preceding century. Jews could be admitted in Hamburg only if the Senate were to prohibit the erection of synagogs, or even secret gatherings for religious worship, the practice of circumcision, the employment of Christian servants, or the holding of any office on the part of the Jews. Like the most intolerant popes, this Lutheran theological faculty advised that Jews be forced to listen to Christian sermons.

The senate, fortified in a measure by the consent, though rather reluctant, of the theological faculties, publicly granted (Feb., 1612) the Portuguese Jews residence in Hamburg, though with disagreeable restrictions. Public and private worship and the rite of circumcision were denied them; but they were permitted to bury their dead in a cemetery of their own near Altona. In consequence of the growth of the community through settlers who were admitted as Jews and no longer as disguised Portuguese, a new agreement was reached between them and the senate by the terms of which their commercial privileges were extended while their civil rights were restricted. They could not buy a house or real property in general. An exception was made in favor of the beloved physician, Rodrigo de Castro. Nevertheless, as soon as the Portuguese Jews gained a position of importance by virtue of their capital and their commercial connections with the great merchants of Hamburg who were members of the senate for the most part, they ventured to break the barriers of this narrow-minded legislation. When the bank was founded in Hamburg (1618-23) which formed the basis of the commercial prosperity of that city, at least twelve Jewish capitalists participated in its organization. The extensive trade between Hamburg and Spain and Portugal was established by the Portuguese settlers alone. Relying upon their indispensability, they quietly established a synagog (about 1626) and called as its chacham Isaac Athias of Amsterdam.

This rather simple synagog, consisting of two rooms, caused a great deal of friction and irritation. Emperor Frederick II, the terror of the Protestants, sent a threatening missive to the senate, at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1627) rebuking it for permitting the Jews, for business reasons, to establish a public synagog, while the Roman Catholics were denied the right of public worship. This sufficed to enrage the Lutheran fanatics. If the Jews were to be granted religious freedom, the same privilege would have to be conferred also upon the Catholics and the Calvinists. What a horrible prospect! When the clergy upbraided the senate for the violation of the agreement on the part of the Jews and the senate called the latter to account, the Jews declared that they had no synagog but a meeting place for the purpose of reading the Law of Moses, the Psalms, the Prophets and other Old Testament books; at any rate, they prayed therein also for the welfare of the city and the authorities. The magistrates were satisfied with this explanation, but the clergy kept on fulminating from their pulpits against the Jews and the faithless senate. They demanded nothing less than the appointment of a *Christian rabbi,* who was to preach Christianity to the Jews in the synagog or elsewhere. The physicians, jealous of the popularity of their Jewish colleagues, incited the burghers against the Jews on their part. But the Jewish physician, Bendito de Castro, son of Rodrigo de Castro, who later on became the physician of Queen Christina of Sweden, wrote in elegant Latin a spirited defense of his Jewish colleagues which made a very favorable impression.

The community and its prosperity grew from year to year, and the senate welcomed the newcomers who were usually capitalists and merchants. The description of the contemporary arch-enemy of the Jews, John Müller, though rather exaggerated, conveys nevertheless an idea of the wealth of the Portuguese Jews of Hamburg: "They walk about adorned with ornaments of gold and silver, of pearls and precious stones; at their weddings they eat out of silver dishes, they ride about in coaches appertaining only to persons of high rank, and employ outriders and a large retinue." The family of Texeira, in particular, lived in princely style. The founder of this banking house, Diego de Texeira de Mattos, was called in Hamburg the "rich Jew." He was a native of Portugal, belonged to the high nobility, and was formerly the Spanish resident in Flanders. At the age of seventy he embraced Judaism. By virtue of his wealth and his connection with the nobility as with the capitalists, he lived in princely state. A clergyman once bowed profoundly before him as he drove past in state, under the impression that he was a man of high rank, like the Elector of Saxony. But when the Lutheran clergyman learned that he had bowed before a Jew, he felt mortified, and expressed the wish that he had the power to make of Texeira and of all Jews hewers of wood and drawers of water, as Joshua did to the Gibeonites.

A small German community too was gradually formed in Hamburg, and opened a synagog. The Hamburg pastors, loyal sons of Luther, headed by John Müller, senior of St. Peter's Church, a Protestant inquisitor, who entertained a violent hatred against the Jews, demanded that the synagog be closed (between 1631-44). The Senate replied that it could see no reason why Jews should not be allowed to worship the true God, the creator of heaven and earth, or to chant psalms. Were they to live like cattle without any religion at all? Moreover (and this was the main thing), if they were deprived of their synagog, the Jews would leave the city and Hamburg would be reduced to a village. The senate and the Jews carried the day; for, where sagacity and justice were powerless, Jewish money proved effectual. But John Müller, who was incorruptible, continued his agitation against the Jews with all the greater venom. In his book, "Judaism" (1644), in which he discusses the blindness of the Jews in refusing to see the light of the gospel, he advocated in the spirit of the old canonical laws, that the Jews be forced to wear the yellow badge, be not permitted to own real property, or build synagogs, and that Christians be forbidden to enter the service of a Jew or even into partnership with him, and, above all, to consult a Jewish physician. The faculties of the three highest Lutheran universities—those of Wittenberg, Strassburg and Rostock—in reply to Müller's inquiry, declared that a Jew must by no means be permitted to treat a Christian patient. In the seventeenth century, when the bloody Thirty Years' War was scourging the nations into a necessity of the recognition of mutual tolerance, the representatives of Lutheranism sought to reintroduce the anti-Jewish decisions of the councils of Visigothic days! But times had changed, after all. Christian IV, king of Denmark, Schleswig and Holstein, the bulwark of the Protestants after Gustavus Adolphus, to whom Müller had dedicated his anti-Jewish book, was the very one who selected a Jewish physician, Benjamin Musaphia, as his physician in ordinary.

Even in Hamburg Müller's fanatic zeal did not meet with great success. When it became public that the community intended to erect a larger synagog, he and his colleagues did, indeed, raise a great hue and cry, and placed obstacles in its way; but their protests were futile. The burghers gradually got accustomed to the Jews, and learned to respect them. Some of them were appointed by great, even Catholic, potentates as their agents or residents. The king of Portugal appointed Duarte Nuñes de Costa and Jacob Curiel successively as his agents, and His Catholic Majesty, Ferdinand IV, raised a Jewish writer of Portuguese descent, Emanuel Rosales, to the rank of palsgrave.

A colony of the Amsterdam community was formed also in South America, in Brazil, discovered and colonized by the Portuguese, and particularly in the city of Pernambuco. The Portuguese government had frequently transported to the new colony Jewish criminals—that is, Maranos who sought to escape the inquisition, together with other criminals. These disgraced Maranos assisted the

Hollanders in the conquest of Brazil; and the sagacious Johann Moritz of Nassau was appointed governor of the new Dutch possessions (1624-36). The Brazilian Maranos, who discarded the mask of Christianity and were treated with extreme consideration by the Hollanders, set themselves in communication at once with the Amsterdam community. The Jews of Recife, near Pernambuco, already styled themselves "holy community" (Kahal Kados). Several hundred Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam sailed for Brazil, either upon invitation or with the object of establishing trade connections with the colony, and took with them their chacham, Isaac Aboab de Fonseca, who was thus the first Brazilian rabbi. Another community was organized at Tamarica, with a rabbi of its own in the person of Jacob Legarto, the first Talmudic writer in South America. It is self-evident that the Brazilian Jews enjoyed absolute equality, because they had rendered the Hollanders most valuable services as advisers and warriors. It was a Jew who warned the Hollandish officials of a conspiracy formed against them by native Portuguese, and thus saved them and the colony from certain destruction. When war broke out afterward between the Portuguese and the Hollanders (1646), and the garrison of Recife, driven by famine, was on the point of surrendering, it was the Jews who urged upon the governor to persist and to continue the struggle. This loyalty of the Jews to the cause of Holland formed a strong bond between them and the republic which was never severed. Jewish equality in the Netherlands was secure for all time.

Not so fortunate, however, were the Maranos, who, fleeing from the fury of the inquisition, sought refuge in France. At first France did not permit them to remain in the country as secret Jews, though several of them occupied eminent positions as physicians, jurists and writers. * These prominent Maranos, however, assisted their brethren who settled in Bordeaux afterward as wholesale merchants, to obtain permission to live as disguised Jews. Inasmuch as they proved of great advantage to the city by virtue of their capital and their business experience, and therefore met with a kindly reception on the part of the city authorities, Henry II (1550) granted the Portuguese merchants, already settled or to settle in the future, under the appellation of New-Christians, permission to live in Bordeaux and to engage in business. Outwardly, of course, they had to appear as Christians, to baptize their children in the church, to be married by Catholic priests, and, self-evidently, to bear Christian names; secretly, however, they practised Jewish customs for several successive generations. In some miraculous way they escaped the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the open charge of fanatics that they were only simulating Christianity. In the year 1636, the Marano community of Bordeaux numbered two hundred and sixty members. Small communities existed also in Bayonne and in other small towns. It was only half a century later, under Louis XIV, that the Portuguese New-Christians were permitted to profess Judaism openly.

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* Michel de Montaigne, the French philosopher and essayist, was of Marano descent. His mother, Antoinette de Louppes, was the daughter of the Marano Pierre de Louppes (Pedro Lopez).

CHAPTER III

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE COSSACK REVOLT

(1618-1655)

While in Holland, the morn of a better day began to dawn for the Jews, the rest of Europe was still wrapped in darkness. In Germany especially the Jew in the seventeenth century was still regarded as an outcast, beyond pity, whom one might bespatter with mud, singe the beard, and treat worse than a dog. There were only three or four important communities in Germany: Frankfort-on-the-Main, with about four or five thousand souls; Worms, with fourteen hundred; Prague, with ten thousand at most, and Vienna with three thousand souls. Hamburg was as yet a young community. In the free cities of Western Germany, in Frankfort and Worms, there prevailed a hatred against the Jews which was rooted not so much in religious bigotry as in a narrow provincialism and an antiquated guild system. Both cities regarded the Jews within their walls as serfs, and referred in all seriousness to a document of Emperor Charles IV to the effect that he sold to them his right to the bodies and property of the Jews. The Portuguese Jews who wished to settle in Frankfort were denied permission to build a synagog in that city, but the Jewish capitalists turned to the Lord of Hanau and obtained from him a very favorable privilege.

The hatred that the people of Frankfort harbored against the Jews found embodiment in legal enactments that preserved all the canonical restrictions of former days. Jews had to live in a separate quarter, had to wear a yellow badge; were not permitted to employ Christian servants or nurses or leave the Judengasse except on urgent business, or to walk by twos beyond the ghetto walls, particularly in the vicinity of the town hall, or on occasion of Christian festivals, or wedding processions, or while princes were paying a visit to the city. Within the ghetto itself Jews had to keep quiet lest they disturb Christian ears; visiting Jews had to retire to their beds early. No shelter could be offered to a strange Jew without a special permit from the magistrates; nor could a strange Jew be admitted into the hospital without such a permit. Jews could buy edibles in the markets only after the Christians had first been supplied. Their commercial transactions were hedged about with restrictions of all sorts, while they were required to pay higher taxes than the Christian residents. Just as they had to wear distinctive badges on their garments, so were they required to have particular sign boards on their houses bearing strange figures and names, such as "garlic," "donkey," "green," "white," "red," or "black shield." The inhabitants of the houses were named after these figures: The Jew So-and-So of the Donkey. When a Jew was admitted to residence in the city, he was required to take a humiliating oath that he would abide by those equally foolish and heartless regulations. Moreover, the magistracy reserved the right to revoke at any time the permission of residence granted to a Jew, and the individual or family concerned was compelled to leave the city within a given time.

If the magistrates possessed the right to banish individual Jews from the city, they could exercise the same right with reference to the Jewish community as a whole. Such, at least, was the inference made by the burghers or the guilds, and they demanded that the magistrates act accordingly. The guilds endeavored to extend their liberties and to curb the power of the patricians in the magistracy, and began with the Jews. At the head of the members of the guilds stood Vincent Fettmilch, a ginger-bread baker, an audacious fellow who held the magistracy in terror, and who styled himself openly the Haman of the Jews. Under his leadership a mob broke into the ghetto while the community was in the synagog (Sept. 1, 1614) and threw themselves upon the Jews with the utmost brutality. Courageous youths and men defended themselves as best they could, and dead and wounded fell on both sides; but Fettmilch's mob, by its superiority in numbers and audacity, proved victorious. The riot raged throughout the night, and the mob indulged freely in rapine, destruction and desecration of holy places. Most of the Jews who had not been hidden by humane burghers, cowered in fear among the graves of the cemetery, some wrapped in shrouds, and awaited death. The mob kept them in suspense as to whether they were to be doomed to death or banishment, and they regarded it as an act of divine grace when, in the afternoon, the Fisherman's Gate was opened and they were permitted to depart at all, thirteen hundred and eighty souls, though bereft of all their property.

A considerable time elapsed before justice was done the Jews of Frankfort. The magistracy was helpless, and the Emperor Matthias not less so. It was only after similar outrages had been perpetrated in Worms, one of the oldest communities of Germany, that a stop was put to the disturbances in Frankfort. In Worms, the animosity against the Jews, originating in religious bigotry and jealousy, was incited not by the guilds but by several members of the magistracy, led, not by a brutal but ingenuous artisan, but by a sly jurist, Doctor Chemnitz. Upon his advice, the guilds sent a deputation to the Jews, warning them to leave the city with all their belongings within an hour. The magistracy protested in vain; and the Jews had to leave the city (seventh day of Passover, April, 1615). The archbishop of Mayence and the Landgrave Louis of Darmstadt granted the banished Jews sojourn in the small towns and villages, and in this way they met some of their fellow-sufferers of Frankfort.

But the triumph of the Jew-haters of Worms was of short duration. The Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, the friend of the Jewish physician, Zacuto Lusitanus, sent his infantry, cavalry and cannon to the city, and put a stop to the disturbances. Doctor Chemnitz and other instigators were arrested; but nearly nine months elapsed before the Jews were restored to their old home upon the emperor's command (Jan. 19, 1616). Two months later the Jews of Frankfort were led back to their homes by the imperial commissioners, as in a triumphal procession, with beating of drums and the sound of horns. In this city the instigators were punished with greater severity, because they had caused havoc, plunder and bloodshed. Vincent Fettmilch was quartered and hanged, his house razed to the ground, and his family sent into banishment. A fine of 175,919 gulden was imposed upon the city as an indemnity for the damage inflicted upon the Jews. In commemoration of this deliverance, rather rare in the German Empire, and of the honorable rehabilitation, the community of Frankfort designated the day of their return (Adar 20th) a semi-holiday, styled the Purim of Vincent.

The emperor Matthias abrogated the old regulations that governed the settlement of Jews in Worms and in Frankfort, and promulgated a new order. The old restrictions imposed upon the Jews with reference to their garb, occupations and movement remained in force, and were even more aggravated in some respects; "but inasmuch as they had once received imperial privileges, the magistracy is bound to protect them and has no longer authority to expel those who had once been granted the right of residence." The Jews of Frankfort who were then reinstated were therefore no longer required to renew their right of residence every three years, as they had to do formerly. This right became hereditary. The number of Jews was limited to five hundred. No more than six new families could be granted the right of residence in one year, and only twelve couples could be married in the course of a year. To the old taxes there was added a marriage and an inheritance tax. In Worms the restrictions contained in the new order were even more oppressive. The communtiy lost its right to pasture its cattle on the public pasturages, but the Jews were compensated with the privilege "to buy from the burghers the milk they needed for themselves and their families and to carry it home!"

Nevertheless, the fact that the emperor Matthias insisted emphatically upon the inviolability of the Jews, even to the extent of employing armed force, proved of advantage to all the German communities. Emperor Ferdinand II, though a pupil of the Jesuits and a bitter enemy of the Protestants, confirmed this inviolability of the Jews for the whole German empire. For this reason, the destructive and bloody Thirty Years' War did not prove so disastrous for the Jews as might be expected. They shared, indeed, in the sufferings of the German people, and did not escape the extortionate contributions laid upon and the devastation wreaked upon flourishing cities by the successive leaders of the mercenaries, Mansfeld, Tilly and Wallenstein. Some Jewish communities were, in fact, annihilated in the course of the war. But the Jews were, at least, secure against the internal enemy and could hide themselves from the storm in the seclusion of the ghetto. The Catholic generals received the imperial order to spare the life and the property of the Jews, and this order was carried out now and then so faithfully that some Protestants saved their property by hiding it in the Jewish quarter! The Jews, the source of imperial revenue, must be spared if the war was to terminate successfully; but they had to pay dearly for this tender treatment.

The court of Vienna invented also another scheme to utilize the financial resources of the Jews for the prosecution of the war. It appointed Jewish capitalists as court Jews, conferred upon them extensive commercial privileges, exempted them from the restrictions to which other Jews were subjected, even from the wearing of the yellow badge, and, on the whole, placed them and their families in an exceptionally favorable position. One of these court Jews, Jacob Bassevi Schmieles (1580-1634) was ennobled by Emperor Ferdinand, and received the name of von Treuenberg. Since he and the other Jewish capitalists furnished the emperor with the financial means for the prosecution of the war, they were in a position to intercede in behalf of their coreligionists in the German empire and in Italy. The community of Vienna rose into prominence in the course of the Thirty Years' War, received the emperor's permission to erect a new synagog (Dec., 1624), and elected as its rabbi (March, 1625) the then rabbi of Nikolsburg, Lippmann Heller (1579-1654), the famous commentator of the Mishna (Tosefot Yom-Tob). Toward the close of the war it seemed as though the Jews were treated with greater consideration than the Christians. In Mayence, at least, the Swedes who occupied the city for four years (1631 to the beginning of 1636), treated them with greater leniency than they did the Catholics. They were not so impoverished, either, for three years after the departure of the Swedes they were in a position to build a synagog, a privilege which they could not enjoy ever since their expulsion one hundred and fifty years before. While the Christian population faced absolute destitution (and this circumstance it was that induced the princes to conclude the Peace of Westphalia), the Jews succeeded in saving some of their property. The booty of so many plundered cities passed through their hands; and even though the payment of taxes imposed an extraordinary strain upon their resources, they managed to retain some of their gains. Hence, when just upon the termination of the Thirty Years' War (1648) great masses of their coreligionists fled from Poland to Germany, they were in a position to extend aid to the unfortunate fugitives.

The Jews of Poland were then, for the first time, exposed to an extensive, bloody persecution. From the moment the deluded kings called the Jesuits into the country to charge them with the task of imbuing the sons of the nobility and the young priests with a fanatic churchliness and of breaking the refractory spirit of the Polish Dissidents, Poland ceased to be the great asylum for the sons of Judah she had been heretofore. The prime cause of the discord that ultimately led to the various partitions of Poland, the Jesuits sought also to undermine the tacit power which the Jews, by virtue of their money and their shrewdness, exerted over the nobility, and joined forces with their other enemies, the German trade and merchant guilds, for the purpose of oppressing them. After all, however, the condition of the Jews of Poland was more tolerable than that of their brethren of Germany or Italy. During the distress consequent upon the Thirty Years' War, fugitive Jews fled to Poland for safety. Vladislav IV (1632-48), the last of the Jagellon kings, was particularly well disposed toward the Jews. The higher nobility were, on the whole, still dependent to some extent on the Jews, because the latter by their energy, shrewdness and frugality were of service to the Polish carelessness and extravagance. To the Polish nobleman the Jew was more than his mere financier; he was also his shrewd adviser. The nobles employed the Jews especially in the exploitation of the newly established colonies for which they themselves had neither the ability nor the perseverance. A number of colonies composed of Polish fugitives, serfs, convicts, peasants and other malcontents, gradually came into existence on the lower Dneiper, and on the northern coast of the Black Sea, in the neighborhood of the Crimean Tatars. These outcasts formed the nucleus of the Cossack tribe living near the cataracts of the Dneiper, called Zaporogians (i. e., those beyond the rapids). To maintain their existence, they had to resort to marauding expeditions against the neighboring Tartars, and thus learned the art of war. The Polish kings, who needed them for military expeditions and for repelling the invasion of the Tartars and Turks, conferred upon them a certain independence in the Ukraine and Little Russia, and appointed a betman as their chief. But the narrowness of Sigismund III and the Jesuits, who could have utilized the Cossacks as an element of strength for Poland, rendered them an element of eternal discontent and rebellion.

As the Zaporogians were adherents of the Greek

Church for the most part, the Jesuits, after they had succeeded in weakening the Dissidents, determined to induce the Greek-Catholics to join the Roman Church or to exterminate them. As the warlike Cossacks, however, did not yield so easily, a formal system of enslavement was instituted against them. Three noble houses—the Koniecpolski, the Wishniowiecki and the Potocki—were practically the masters of the colonies in the Ukraine, and they turned the collection of the oppressive taxes imposed upon the Cossacks to their Jewish factors. The Cossacks had to pay a tax for every new-born child, and for every newly betrothed couple. To guard against the evasion of these taxes, the Jewish factors kept the keys of the Greek churches in their custody, and whenever the priest had occasion to use the church for a christening or betrothal, he had to apply to the Jewish agent, who would deliver the keys only after the payment of the tax had been made. This rendered the Jews odious in the eyes of the Cossacks. Moreover, the highly artificial study of the Talmud, created by Shachna, Luria and Isserles and developed in Poland to the acme of subtlety by their disciples, Joshua Folk Cohen (ab. 1550-1614), Meir Lublin (1554-1616), Samuel Edles (1556-1632), and Sabbathai Cohen (1622-1663), left upon the Polish Jews in general an impress of sharpness and artifice which found expression in all their transactions. For in Poland familiarity with the Talmud was of greater necessity than in the rest of Europe, and every one who was not too stupid occupied himself with its study. The rabbis enjoyed judicial autonomy, and rendered their decisions in accordance with Talmudic-rabbinic law. The multitudinousness of the Jews in Poland and their fondness of litigation gave rise to complicated legal cases for which hardly any provision had been made in the code (Shulhan Arukh). The rabbi-judges, therefore, had to go back to the source of the law, the Talmud in search of legal support in such cases, and because the litigants were for the most part themselves learned and expert, the rabbis had to establish their deductions and analogies with great acumen. Hence the rabbinic civil law was cultivated and expanded in Poland to an extraordinary degree.

This ever-growing tendency to apply the methods of ingenuity to the study of rabbinic law, thus fostered, in a measure by circumstances and necessity, received further impetus from the ambition of the Talmudic scholars to outdo one another in hair-splitting acumen in order to offer something novel and to gain distinction in the Councils of the Four Lands. This one-sided development of a single faculty, the hair-splitting judgment, at the expense of the others, thwarted the imagination; for this reason Poland did not produce a single literary creation worthy of being styled poetic. All the intellectual productions of the Polish school bore the Talmudic-rabbinic stamp. For this reason the disciples of this school looked with a certain contempt upon the Scriptures, with their simple sublimity. What profit was there in childish tales to which no ingenuity could be applied? Their knowledge of the Bible extended at best to the scriptural portions read in the synagog, and to the biblical verses incidentally quoted in the Talmud. Their sense for the simply sublime remained therefore undeveloped. Turning and twisting, legal tricks and quibbling, and precipitate judgment on subjects that lay beyond their horizon thus formed the essence of the Polish Jews. Extraordinarily religious they were, as a matter of course; pious, very pious; but even this piety rested upon sophistry and presumption. One sought to outdo the other in the matter of piety, or rather to keep himself better informed as to what the code prescribes in a given case. Many of them were as devoid of probity and equity as of inward piety, simplicity and the sense of truth. The unscrupulous acquired this subtlety of the Talmudic schools, and utilized it to take advantage of the less wary. They could not, of course, employ these tricks very well against their own coreligionists who were sharp themselves, but the non-Jewish world with whom they came in contact felt this superiority of the subtle spirit of the Polish Jews rather keenly. The Polish sons of the Talmud paid little heed to the injunctions of the Talmud and to the great teachers of Judaism who condemned fraud and deception committed against the non-Jews even more severely than those committed against coreligionists.

For this perversity a most bloody vengeance was visited upon the Polish Jews. They had blindly assisted the nobles and the Jesuits to oppress the Cossacks in the Ukraine and Little Russia. The magnates wished to make of the Cossacks profitable serfs, the Jesuits to convert the Greek heretics into Roman Catholics, and the Jews who had settled in the district desired to enrich themselves and to lord it over these pariahs. They presumed to act as judges over them and vexed them in their religious affairs. No wonder that the enslaved Cossacks hated the Jews even more than they did their aristocratic and clerical enemies, since it was with the Jews that they came in most frequent contact. The Jews had ample warning of the fate that awaited them in case these exasperated enemies of theirs once gained the upper hand. In one of the repeated uprisings of the Zaporogians, under Hetman Pavliuk (1637), which was but of brief duration, two hundred Jews were killed and several synagogs were destroyed. The

Jews, nevertheless, assisted in aggravating the condition of the Zaporogians whose enslavement became more oppressive as a result of the uprising. They regarded the year 1648, in accordance with the teachings of the Zohar, as the year of redemption and of the coming of the Messiah when they would become the masters, and were therefore more reckless and careless than they used to be otherwise. The bloody retaliation was not slow in coming, and involved the innocent as well as the guilty, and the former possibly even more than the latter, in equal misfortune.

This calamity proceeded from a man who was shrewd enough to make use of the pent-up hatred of the Cossacks for his own purposes. Bogdan Chmielnicki (1595-1657) who was the terror of Poland for several years, and who first gave Russia the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of the Polish Republic, proved a fearful scourge to the Jews of Poland which caused them, too, to lose their comparatively favorable position. Warlike and crafty in the execution of his plans, cruel and dissembling at once, he had been personally irritated by some Jews while still in a subordinate position. When he attempted to arouse the entire Ukraine to a fanatically religious and race war, his first words addressed to the Cossacks were: "The Poles have delivered us as slaves into the hands of the accursed brood of Jews," and this sufficed to induce them all to join his banners. The Zaporogians breathing vengeance, together with the Tatars, eager for booty, defeated the Polish army (Aug. 18, 1648). Thereupon, the savage bands poured into the cities east of the Dnieper, between Kief and Poltava, and plundered and murdered, particularly the Jews, who did not seek safety in flight. Several thousand Jews were thus put to the sword. Those who fell captive into the hands of the Tatars could even regard themselves as fortunate, for they were transported to the Crimea, whence they were ransomed by Turkish Jews. Four Jewish communities, consisting of about three thousand souls, surrendered to the Tatars with all their belongings, were well treated and sold into Turkey where they, too, were ransomed by their Turkish brethren. The community of Constantinople sent a delegate to Holland to solicit money from the wealthy communities for the redemption of Jewish-Polish captives.

To the misfortune of Poland and the Jews King Vladislav, for whom Chmielnicki entertained some respect, died on the very day of the Cossack victory (May 18, 1648). During the interregnum of several months (May-October, 1648), the usual Polish confusion ensued, which paralyzed all resistance to the encroachments of the Zaporogians. Chmielnicki withdrew at first, seemingly inclined to negotiate with the crown, but authorized his subordinates to overrun and devastate the Polish provinces. Murderous bands that called themselves Haidamaks (adventurers, in the Tatar language) were formed under savage leaders, who took delight in shedding Jewish and Polish blood and who were encouraged by the Greek popes in their midst to murder Catholics and Jews in the name of religion. Each leader had his favorite form of cruelty. Morozenko had Catholic and Jewish women dragged by leather straps which were twisted about their necks, a pastime which he styled "presenting them with a red ribbon." Shortly after the first victory of the Cossacks, one band under Ganya moved against the fortress of Nemirov (in Podolia), where about six thousand Jews, residents and fugitives, were gathered. The Cossacks were in league with the Greek Christians of the city, and, attacked by both, nearly all the Jews were massacred amidst fearful torture (June 10, 1648). Another horde of Haidamaks seized the city of Tulczyn, where six thousand Christians and about two thousand Jews had sought refuge in the fortress of Nesterov. Among the latter there were very brave Jews who were determined to sell their lives not too cheaply. Nobles and Jews had taken a mutual solemn oath to defend the city and the fortress to the last man. The Cossacks thereupon resorted to a trick. They assured the nobles that their sole object of attack was the Jews, and that if the latter were delivered to them they would retire. The deluded and perjured nobles thereupon proposed that the Jews surrender their arms to them. The Jews complied, and the Poles admitted the horde into the city. After they had robbed the Jews of all their possessions, the Cossacks gave them the choice between death and baptism. The Jews, however, scorned this offer, and about fifteen hundred were tortured and executed in the sight of the Polish nobles (fourth of Tammuz, 1648). The Poles, however, paid at once the penalty of treachery. Deprived of the support of the Jews, they were attacked by the Cossacks and massacred in cold blood amidst the jeers of their tormentors that the perjured had no right to expect good faith. This tragic incident had at least this good effect that the Poles henceforth made common cause with the Jews and did not desert them in the course of the war which continued for years. At the same time, another horde of Haidamaks, led by a certain Hodki, penetrated into Little Russia and instituted a horrible massacre among the communities of Homel, Starodub, Czernigov and other places (east and north of Kief). The Jews of Homel are said to have endured martyrdom with especial fortitude.

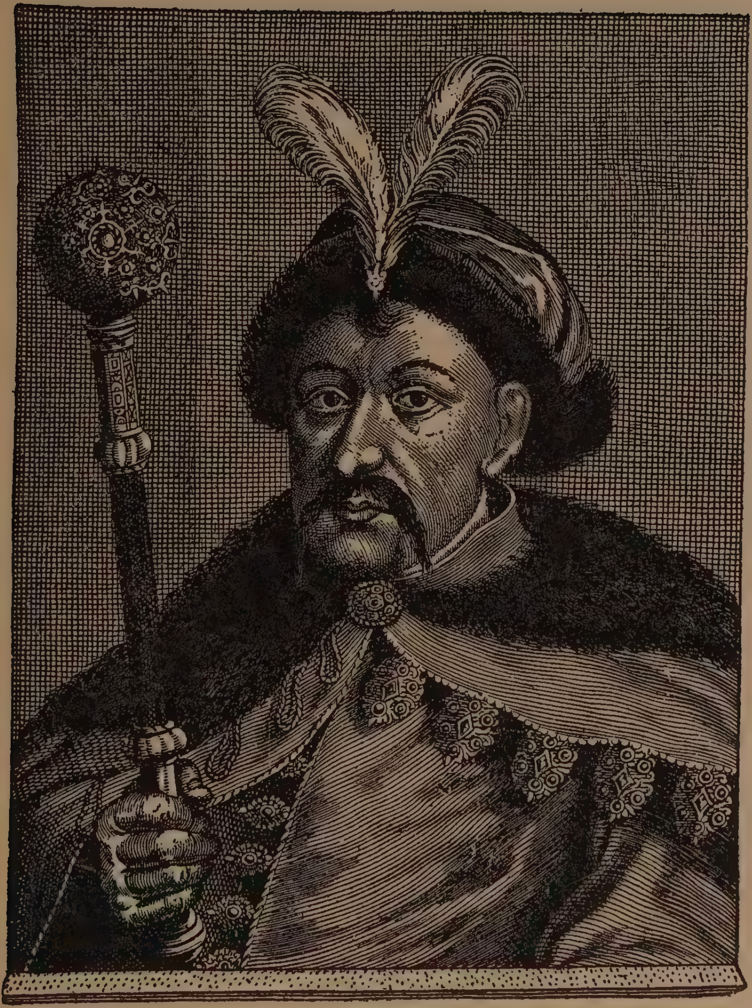
Prince Jeremiah Vishnioviecki, the only heroic figure of Poland at that period of confusion, took the Jewish fugitives under the protection of his small but valiant army, with which he pursued and annihilated several marauding bands of Cossacks. But with his own resources alone he could achieve no permanent results. Owing to petty jealousies, he was entirely ignored when the selection of a commander-in-chief to crush the Cossack rebellion was under discussion, and instead of him three commanders were appointed who were an easy prey for Chmielnicki. He was finally compelled to retreat before the superior numbers of the Cossacks and the Greek-Catholic population who were in sympathy with them. His retreat sounded the death-knell of the Jews, who had counted upon his heroism. Ten thousand Jews, residents and fugitives from the neighborhood, perished in the fortress of Polonnoie (between Zaslav and Jitomir) at the hands of the besieging Haidamaks and the treacherous inhabitants. Wherever the bloodthirsty Haidamaks came upon Jews and Catholics, they slaughtered them without mercy.

The unfortunate outcome of the second war between Poland and the Cossacks (September) brought destruction upon those Jews who, far away from the theatre of war, had regarded themselves as safe. There was no escape for them from the onslaught of the Zaporogians unless they could reach the Wallachian border. The distant stretch of territory from the southern Ukraine to Lemberg, beyond Dubno and Brody, was marked by the blood of murdered Jews. In the city of Bar alone between two and three thousand Jews perished. The cruelty of the regular Cossacks as well as of the savage Haidamaks made no distinction between Rabbinic and Karaite Jews. Of the Karaite communities in Poland only scattered remnants were left. In the important community of Lemberg many Jews perished from hunger and pestilence, and all of them lost their entire property, which they had to deliver to the Cossacks as ransom. From Lemberg Chmielnicki moved upon Zamosc in order to be in the vicinity of Warsaw and in a position to turn the scale in favor of his choice at the approaching election of the Polish king.

In the city of Narol, in Volhynia, through which they passed, the Zaporogians instituted a massacre on a scale hitherto unknown. Forty-five thousand persons, twelve thousand Jews among them, it is reported, were butchered there amidst cruel tortures (beginning of November). The Haidamaks spread meanwhile through Volhynia, Podolia and Western Russia, and quenched their thirst for vengeance in the blood of nobles, priests and Jews, whom they slaughtered by the thousands and tens of thousands. In Kremenetz the monsters slaughtered several hundred Jewish children, examined their corpses jeeringly, as the Jewish ritual prescribed for their slaughtered cattle, and threw them to the dogs. In some cities, however, the Jews as well as the Catholics armed themselves, and succeeded in dispersing the bloodthirsty Cossacks.

The election of a king which was finally effected in the midst of passionate strife and dissensions (Nov., 1648), in disregard of the fact that the Polish state stood on the brink of destruction, put a momentary stop to the bloodshed. Chmielnicki decided in favor of John Casimir (1609-72), son of Sigismund III, hitherto primate of Gnesen, and he was elected. Thereupon Chmielnicki returned in triumph to the Ukraine. The conditions which he gruffly dictated to the Polish commissioners who visited him in his Cossack stronghold for the purpose of negotiating a treaty of peace were that no Catholic churches and no Jews must be tolerated in the Cossack provinces. The commission could not accept such terms, and the termination of the negotiations led to a third clash between the Poles and the Cossacks. In the battle of Sbaraz, the Polish army was again defeated and would have been completely routed by the Zaporogians and Tatars had not the king, who narrowly escaped capture himself, wisely come to an understanding with the Tatar chieftain. A treaty of peace was thereupon concluded (Aug., 1649), which practically granted Chmielnicki's demands, including the point which concerned the Jews.

As a result of the Peace of Sbaraz, the Poles and the Jews enjoyed comparative quiet for about a year and a half. Wherever residence was granted them, the fugitive Jews returned to their homes. Those Jews who had submitted to baptism under compulsion were given permission by the king to return to their ancestral faith. The Jews sought out many hundreds of Jewish children who had lost their parents and relatives and were reared in Christianity, took pains to discover their parentage, and hung the document on their neck in a little roll, to keep them from contracting incestuous marriages later on. The Council of the Four Countries that convened in Lublin in the winter of 1650 was taxed to the utmost in its endeavor to close to some extent at least the wounds of Polish Jewry. Many hundreds, nay thousands, of Jewish women did not know whether their husbands were in the grave or wandering about as beggars in the East or the West, in Turkey or Germany; did not know whether they were widows or wives, or found themselves in other dilemmas which the rabbinic law had created. The Council of Lublin enacted excellent ordinances with reference to these problems. At the instance of Sabbathai Cohen (Shach), the day of the first massacre of Nemirov (20th of Sivan) was appointed a general fast day in all Polish communities. The aged Lipmann Heller, rabbi of Cracow,



Bogdan Chmielnicki

Sabbathai Hurwitz of Posen, and the youthful Sabbathai Cohen wrote penitential prayers for this occasion which were, however, selections from older liturgical compositions for the most part.

After an interval of a year and a half, the war broke out anew, and again the Jews were the first victims (1651), since Chmielnicki and his savage Zaporogians now fell upon Polish territory where Jewish communities had settled again. The massacres, of course, were not conducted on so large a scale this time, since there were no longer thousands of Jews to slaughter. Moreover, the evil days had taught the Jews courage; they had armed themselves and furnished the king with a Jewish regiment of a thousand men. Besides, the fortune of war turned against the Cossacks this time, since their allies, the Tatars, withdrew from the battlefield and carried Chmielnicki with them as captive. John Casimir and his ministers did not forget to safeguard the rights of the Jews in the compact entered into with the defeated Cossacks. They were to have the right of residence in the Ukraine and everywhere else as heretofore, and to farm the estates of Polish noblemen.

But this compact too was entered into and sworn to only to be broken. Chmielnicki accepted these terms only to enable him to regain his strength and to restore his shattered prestige among the Cossacks. As soon as he accomplished his first object, he renewed hotilities against Poland which the Jews always felt most keenly. In the two years after the first uprising of the Zaporogians, more than three hundred communities were totally destroyed either by the sword or by flight, and the end was not yet. The Polish troops could make no headway against Chmielnicki's violent onslaughts. When he could no longer expect any aid from the Tatars, he made an alliance with Russia and incited Alexis Michaelovich to make war upon the unhappy and internally disrupted Poland.

In consequence of the Russian War (1654-55), the Western and the Lithuanian communities which had hitherto escaped the depredations of the Cossacks were also involved in misfortune. The community of Vilna was completely depopulated as a result of the massacre instituted by the Russians, and through flight (July, 1665). As though fate had already then decided upon the dissolution of Poland, a new enemy, Sweden, joined the Cossacks and the Russians. In consequence of the Swedish war under Charles X, the communities of Great and Little Poland, from Posen to Cracow, were also reduced to want and despair (1656). Those who escaped the Russians, Cossacks and Swedes were cruelly maltreated by the Jew-baiting Polish General Czarnicki, under the pretext that they stood in treasonable communication with the Swedes. All Poland resembled at that time a gory battlefield overrun by Cossacks, Russians, Prussians, Swedes and, in addition, by the bands of Prince Rakoczi of Transylvania; the Jews were mistreated and slain by all alike. Only the great elector of Brandenburg treated them mildly. That six hundred thousand Jewish souls perished in the course of the decade of this war (1648-58) is rather an exaggeration, but it is safe to estimate their number at a quarter of a million. With the decline of Poland as a world power, the importance of Polish Jewry also vanished. The remnant was impoverished, crushed and humbled, and could not recover. Their poverty was so keen that those who succeeded in reaching Prussia hired out as day-laborers in the fields of Christian farmers.

Just as at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain and Portugal, Sephardic Jewish fugitives were met everywhere, so the emaciated forms of the Polish Jews were met now, fleeing from massacres, conflagrations, famine, pestilence, or carried by the Tatars into captivity and ransomed by their brethren, seeking shelter anywhere. Westward, through Danzig and across the Vistula, such fugitives came to Hamburg, wandered to Amsterdam, whence they were conveyed to Frankfort-on-the-Main and other Rhenish cities. Southward, many of them fled to Moravia, Bohemia, Austria and Hungary, and wandered thence as far as Italy. Those who were captured by the Tatars were taken to the Turkish provinces and partly to the Barbary Coast. Their brethren received them everywhere with open arms, and provided them with food, clothing and other necessaries. The Italian Jews made great sacrifices in the discharge of their duty of ransoming and maintaining the fugitives. The well-to-do members of the Leghorn community devoted a fourth of their income to the redemption and the support of the unfortunate Polish Jews. The German and Austrian communities too, though themselves victims of the Thirty Years' War, came to the rescue of their Polish brethren. But the number and the misery of the fugitives and captives were so great that the German communities were compelled to divert part of the funds collected for Jerusalem to the relief of the victims of the Cossack rebellion.

The Cossack persecution of the Jews left an indelible impress upon Judaism. If the Polish-rabbinic method of instruction had hitherto dominated the Talmudic schools of Germany, and partly also of Italy, through the vast literature produced by Polish authors, it became supreme henceforth through the fugitives who were Talmudic scholars for the most part. The rabbinic offices were bestowed mostly upon Polish Talmudists, on Ephraim Cohen and Sabbathai Cohen in Moravia, on Moses

Ribkes in Amsterdam, on Samuel Aaron Kaidonower in Furth and later on in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and on Moses Cohen of Vilna in Metz. The Polish Talmudists were very proud of their superiority in rabbinic knowledge, and looked with contempt upon their German, Portuguese and Italian colleagues. Not only did they refuse to give up their own peculiarities in their new environments, but insisted that everybody follow them, and they carried their point, too. People made fun of the "Polacks," but submitted to them just the same. Whoever desired a thorough Talmudic and rabbinic education had to sit at the feet of Polish rabbis. Every father who wished to give his children a Talmudic training had to engage a Polish rabbi or teacher. Little by little the Polish rabbis forced their pilpulistic piety upon the German and, to a less extent, also upon the Portuguese and Italian communities. It was they who brought about a still greater decline than heretofore in scientific and even in biblical knowledge. In the very century of Descartes and Spinoza, when the three civilized peoples, the French, the English, and the Dutch, dealt a death blow to medievalism, the Jewish-Polish emigrants, fleeing from Chmielnicki's fury, introduced a new medievalism into European Jewry which maintained itself in full vigor upward of a century, and is still partly in force in our own day.

CHAPTER IV

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE JEWS IN ENGLAND AND THE AGITATORS

(1655-1666)

At the very time when the Jews of Poland were butchered or chased about like frightened deer, a country opened its doors to the Jews from which they had been banished for upward of two centuries and a half. England, which the wise Queen Elizabeth and the heroic Protector Cromwell had raised to a European power of the first rank, again permitted Jews to enter within her domain, not, to be sure, through the main entrance, but rather through a side door; but this concession caused so much comment that it looked like a triumph for Judaism. The Jews of Amsterdam and of Hamburg cast longing eyes upon this island which was so near, with whose merchants, ship owners and scholars they were in communication, and which promised such a wide scope for their activities. But their settlement therein seemed to meet with insuperable obstacles. The English High-Church was even more intolerant than the papacy which it persecuted. It hardly permitted the Catholics and the dissenters to breathe; how could it be expected to tolerate the descendants of those whom the New Testament Scriptures had so calumniated? The English people, who had not seen a Jew for centuries, shared the aversion of the clergy against them. Who had the hardihood to undertake to dispel this deep-seated prejudice, in order to inspire both people and king with a favorable inclination toward the descendants of Israel?

This difficult task was undertaken and accomplished by a man who was not a genius, but who was possessed of the right proportion of sagacity and narrowness, of tenacity and flexibility, of self-denial and vanity, which were absolutely essential to such a difficult enterprise. Manasseh ben Israel, second or third rabbi of Amsterdam, who at home occupied but a secondary position, the preacher who to support his family wished to exchange his pulpit eloquence for commercial speculation and who was on the point of emigrating to Brazil, he it was who conquered England for Jewry and who reduced, if he did not banish, the prejudice against his coreligionists. As already stated, he was not an overtowering personality; but there was something about him that attracted, a winning friendliness and affability that enabled him to move in various circles of peoples, to make friends everywhere and enemies nowhere. He was greater of heart than of mind. His strong points were a ready eloquence and a facility to present and to elaborate those thoughts which lay within his narrow horizon and which were rather borrowed than original.

As a model for his literary work he took Isaac Abrabanel, whose great-grand-daughter, Rachel Soeira, he had married. Manasseh was very proud of this alliance because he firmly believed that the Abrabanels were of royal Davidic descent. Like Abrabanel, he wrote a book (Conciliator), in which he attempted to solve and to harmonize the contradictions in Holy Writ. But Manasseh's presentation, even though it is as unsatisfactory, is not quite so prolix and tiresome as Abrabanel's. Manasseh ben Israel was a very grateful reader; he accepted not only the true but also the untrue and the absurd. The ghost stories of the mystics he believed as firmly as the biblical narratives, and placed implicit faith in the cabala and in its theory of the transmigration of souls.

His contemporaries, however, regarded Manasseh's writings with different eyes. The erudition collected therein from every branch of literature and from all languages, and the smoothness of his style, excited admiration. Contemporary Christian scholars, too, valued highly and overrated his learning. Through a concurrence of circumstances, and especially through the genius of Joseph Scaliger, the king of philologists, Holland, in the seventeenth century, laid the foundation of that astounding philologic learning which was deposited in voluminous folios. It was the ambition of scholars to master the three favored languages of antiquity: Greek, Latin and Hebrew, and their literature. The Hebrew, as the language of religion, enjoyed even a special preference, and the scholar who mastered it equally with the other languages was certain of distinction. Joseph Scaliger, the oracle of the Protestant theologians, included even the so-called rabbinic literature in his studies, and even the Talmud he treated with a certain respect. His disciples followed his example, and devoted themselves with great zeal to this branch of knowledge which had been regarded with contempt and even with a certain aversion a century before.

Johannes (John) Buxtorf, the elder (1564-1639) of Basel, had gained a perfect mastery of Hebrew and rabbinics, and made them accessible to Christian circles. He carried on an active correspondence in Hebrew with Jewish scholars in Amsterdam, Germany and Constantinople. Even ladies devoted themselves at that time to the study of the

Hebrew language and literature. The eccentric Queen Christina of Sweden, the learned daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, understood Hebrew. Statesmen like Hugo Grotius of Holland and John Selden of England occupied themselves with it earnestly and exhaustively for their theological or historical studies.

But with all their zeal, Christian scholars could not pursue their rabbinic studies independently; they could not proceed without a Jewish guide, or did not feel sure of their ground. For this reason, Manasseh ben Israel's dissertations that contained many rabbinic citations and presented new points of view, met with a ready welcome at their hands. They paid him visits, sought his friendship, hung on his lips, as it were, and thus gradually discarded their anti-Jewish prejudices. His greatest admirers were among those eager students who had been persecuted or branded as heretics by the dominant church, and the Christian visionaries who dreamed of the approach of the Fifth Kingdom, the reign of the Saints (as the Book of Daniel has it). The bloody Thirty Years' War that delivered property and life into the hands of the savage soldiery and that brought about such violent changes, led these dreamers to the conclusion that the Messianic era of the millennial kingdom, as foretold by the Book of Daniel and the Apocolypse, was near at hand, and that the calamities of the war were only the precursors of the promised era of grace. These enthusiasts were particularly well disposed toward the Jews; they felt that the great change could not be brought about without the participation of those from whom, afer all, these predictions first issued. They admitted, accordingly, that the Jews would have to regain possession of the Holy Land which, however, was not so easy of accomplishment, even through the agency of miracles. Moreover, the

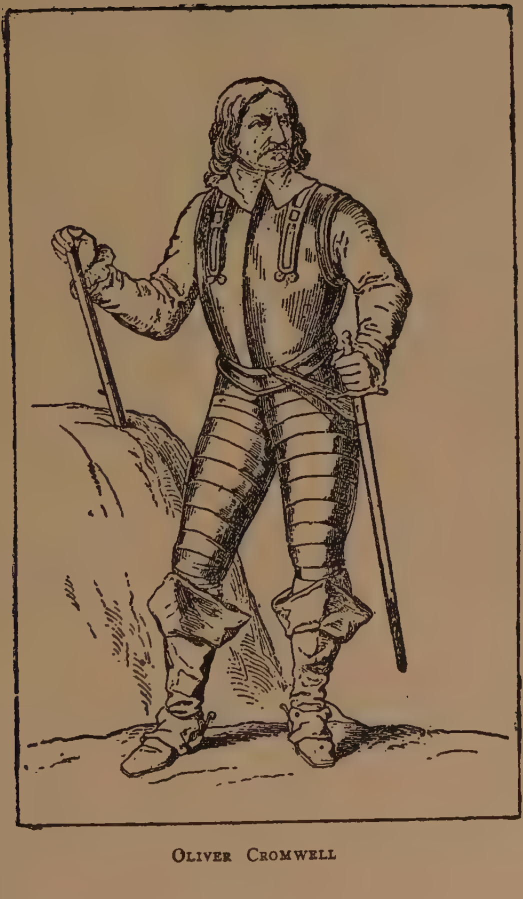
Ten Lost Tribes would first have to be rediscovered and gathered together if the prophetic words were to be fulfilled. Again, the tribes thus gathered together to take possession of the Holy Land would have to have their Messiah, a scion of the House of David. What, then, was to become of Jesus as Christ—that is, as a Messiah—since the Jews absolutely refused to believe in him? Some enthusiasts of the Fifth Kingdom of the Saints even made such a far-reaching concession to the Jews as to assign them a Messiah of their own, in the expectation that the question of jurisdiction between the Jewish and the Christian Messiah would be eventually adjusted.

Such apocalyptic fantasies struck a responsive chord in the heart of Manasseh ben Israel. While he did not expect the millennial kingdom of the saints, he, too, awaited the speedy approach of the Messianic era, in accordance with cabalistic predictions. The Zohar, which he regarded as a divine book, specified the year 1648 as the beginning of the Messianic era. He felt very happy at the receipt of a letter from a Christian enthusiast, Mochinger of Danzig, who expressed his belief in the approaching glory of Israel. Another German mystic of Dantzic, Abraham von Frankenberg, a nobleman of Oels (Silesia) and a disciple of Jacob Böhm, wrote in a similar strain. In his immediate proximity, Manasseh had two Christian friends—Henry Jesse and Peter Serrarius—who were enthusiastic dreamers of Israel's glory. In France, a peculiar Huguenot dreamer, Isaac la Peyrère of Bordeaux, who was in the service of the Duke of Condé, wrote a book, "The Return of the Jews" (Rappel des Juifs), in which he maintained that the Jews must be recalled from all the lands of their dispersion that they might return to the Holy Land and that it was the office of the king of France, as the oldest son of the Church, to restore Israel, God's oldest son, to the promised land.

The most warm admirers of "God's People" were then found in England, and included such whose word carried weight both in council and in camp. At the time when the Germans were engaged in an internecine civil war on account of religious differences and lost both freedom and power, England achieved religious together with political freedom, and this it was that rendered her the mightiest and the happiest country. Alongside of the Episcopalians, Presbyterians and Catholics, there arose a fourth party, the Puritans, which demanded absolute religious freedom for all. The stupid despotism of Charles I and the narrow-mindedness of the Long Parliament played into the hands of this staunch and energetic party. Its leader, Oliver Cromwell, possessed at once the head to conceive great thoughts and the arm to reduce them to reality. He and his army fought for religious liberty for themselves and others. He and his officers were not bloodthirsty mercenaries in search of booty, but warriors filled with the spirit of God, who dreamed of establishing a theocracy and undertook its accomplishment. The Puritan warriors, like the Maccabeans of old, went to battle with the praise of God in their mouths and the sword in their hands. Cromwell and his soldiers read the Bible before and after an engagement. But the "Roundheads" were inspired to courage and enthusiasm not by the New but solely by the Old Testament. The Christian Bible, with its Essenic, monkish forms, offered no model for warriors who had to declare war on a perjured king, a faithless aristocracy and unholy priests. Only the great heroic figures of the Old Testament who had the fear of God in their hearts while fighting, sword in hand, for their God and their nation could serve as a model for the Puritans; the judges who freed their people from the foreign yoke; Saul, David, Joab, who routed the enemies of their nation; Jehu, who exterminated an idolatrous and wicked dynasty—such were the favorite heroes of the Puritanic warriors. Each verse of the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings mirrored their own situation; each Psalm seemed peculiarly adapted to their own condition. Oliver Cromwell seemed another Gideon who, at first reluctant in obeying the voice of God, afterward routed the heathen hordes with heroic courage, or another Judas Maccabeus, who converted a handful of martyrs into a victorious army.

Absorbed as they were in the history, prophecy and poetry of the Old Testament, as an efflux of divine revelation, they came to the conclusion that the people, the standard-bearer of all this glory and grandeur, must be an especially favored and chosen people. Among the Puritans there were therefore sincere admirers of the "People of God." To them it appeared marvelous that this people whom God had so distinguished by great mercy and by severe chastisement, that this people or a remnant thereof should still be in existence. Under the stress of this feeling there was born the desire to see with their own eyes this living, wandering marvel, the Jews, to attract them to the community of God about to be established in England that their presence might stamp it, in a measure, with the seal of a true theocracy. Characteristic of the feelings which the Puritans entertained toward the Jews is Cromwell's utterance: "I sympathize deeply with this poor people (the Jews) whom God had chosen and whom he gave his Law; they reject Jesus because they do not recognize him as the Messiah." Cromwell dreamed of a reconciliation between the Old and the New Testaments, of a close union between the Jewish "people of God" and the English Puritanic community of God. These Puritans of Cromwell's army and among the members of Parliament who believed in the approaching millennium assigned the Jewish people a particularly glorious place in the expected millennial kingdom. A Puritan preacher, Nathaniel Holmes (Holmesius), interpreting a biblical prophecy literally, wished to become Israel's servant and perform menial services for him on bended knees. The sermons delivered in the churches as well as public life in general received an Israelitish tinge, as it were. The only thing wanting to make one think himself transplanted to Judea was for the Parliamentary orators to speak Hebrew. One writer even proposed that the Pentateuch be adopted as England's constitution.

These occurrences in England which promised the speedy restoration of Israel to glory Manasseh ben Israel followed with beating heart. He hoped that these signs indicated the approach of the Messianic era, and he developed a feverish activity to help in reducing this hope to reality. He set himself in communication with several prominent persons who assured him that "men were then favorably disposed toward the Jews and that the English would receive them with open arms." He was especially encouraged by a defense of the Jews written by a prominent English Christian, Edward Nicholas, under the title, "Apology for the Honorable Nation of the Jews." In this work, dedicated to the Long Parliament, the Jews, as the chosen people, are treated with a tenderness to which they were hitherto not at all accustomed. At the conclusion of his book, the author found it necessary to protest solemnly that he had written not at the request of the Jews, but solely out of love of God and his native land. The apologist held to the opinion that the calamities incident to the religious and



Oliver Cromwell

civil war were visited upon England for her former persecutions of God's saints and favorites, the Jews, and were an urgent admonition to atone for this great sin by readmitting them and by treating them as brothers. That Israel was God's favored and chosen people he supported by many biblical citations. He referred to a preacher who had asserted in Parliament, in connection with the verse, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm," that the weal or woe of the world depended upon the good or ill treatment of God's people. God, by his inscrutable decree, had preserved this people to the present day in order to assign to them a glorious future. "It is therefore our duty to do everything within our power to favor and to comfort them to make atonement to them for the innocent blood of theirs which had been shed in this Island, and to bring them in close union and friendship with us." The pope and his followers, he said, who still persisted in inflicting cruelties and indignities on God's people, would of course be very indignant at this brotherly treatment of the Jews. The popes forced the Jews to wear badges of disgrace and forbade Catholics to come in contact with them because they abhorred idolatry and pagan cults. But this was an additional reason why the Jews should be regarded with favor.

This apology excited the greatest attention in England and Holland. Manasseh ben Israel was transported by it, and set to work at once to help, on his part, to reduce that aim to a reality. However, like the Christian mystics of England, he was disturbed by the question as to what had become of the Ten Lost Tribes whom the Assyrian king Shalmanesser had led into exile. A restoration of the Jewish kingdom without these ten tribes seemed impossible. The union of Judah with Israel which some prophets had foretold would remain unfulfilled if these tribes had perished. It was thus of great importance to Manasseh to be able to show that the Ten Tribes were still in existence somewhere.

Manasseh ben Israel was fortunately placed in a position to point to the whereabouts of some of the lost tribes. Several years previously, Montezinos, a Jewish traveler, stated under solemn oath that in some region of South America he had seen and come in contact with native Jews of the tribe of Reuben. Manasseh ben Israel believed in this allegation firmly, and took it as the basis of his "Hope of Israel" (Esperança de Israel, Amsterdam, 1650), which he wrote for the express purpose of paving the way for the Messianic era. He believed that the era of redemption was finally at hand. Several omens pointed to that fact. If the prophetic threats of evil had been fulfilled in such a horrible manner, why should not their promised blessings come to pass also? What unspeakable horrors the monstrous inquisition had inflicted and still was inflicting daily upon the poor, innocent Jews of both sexes and all ages because they refused to prove false to the Law of Moses, revealed to them amidst so many wonders, and this loyalty the martyrs still attested to daily with incredible steadfastness; they chose to be burned alive in order to sanctify the name of God. Manasseh gives a list of martyrs who had been condemned to the auto-da-fés in Spain and Portugal on account of their faith in Judaism. As a particularly astounding example of loyalty to Judaism, he tells of the martyrdom of a young Christian nobleman, Don Lope de Veroy Alarcon, who proclaimed his conversion to Judaism with the courage of a knight and a philosopher, and who changed his name to "Judah the Believer." After an imprisonment of several years, he was burned at the stake (July 25, 1644). Shudderingly the spectators heard him chant, in the midst of the flames, the verse of the psalm, "In thy hands, O God, I commit my spirit." "Such steadfastness as this youth displayed had never been witnessed hitherto," one said to another. He narrates also the heroic martyrdom of Isaac de Castro-Tartas (Dec. 27, 1647), a young scholar of twenty-five, who was burned in Lisbon and who died with the "Shema" on his lips.

Under the influence of these tidings of the new horrors inflicted by the inquisition upon the Jews, Manasseh ben Israel wrote his "Israel's Hope." If martyrdom proves the truth of a cause, Judaism needs no further proof of its truthfulness, since no nation and no religion had endured so much martyrdom with such steadfastness. Manasseh accordingly comes to the conclusion that just as the prophecies of evil had been fulfilled, the promises of the redemption and the restoration of the people of God would also come to pass. This treatise dealing with the existence of the Ten Lost Tribes and the hope of Israel's redemption connected therewith, which he wrote in Latin, Manasseh delivered to an eminent and learned Englishman for submittal to the Parliament which was controlled by Cromwell and to the Privy Council. In a letter which accompanied this work, Manasseh submitted to parliament his favorite argument that the restoration of Israel to his ancestral land, which was so near at hand, must presuppose a general dispersion of Israel. This dispersion, in accordance with the words of the Scriptures, must be from one end of the earth to the other; this must include England, which is situated in the extreme north of the habitable world. Inasmuch, however, as no Jews have lived in England for more than three centuries, he appealed to parliament and the privy council to permit Jews to settle in England, to grant them religious freedom and the right to erect synagogs (1652). Of his Messianic hopes Manasseh made no secret, because he knew that the "saints" or the Puritans were themselves disposed to assist in "gathering the people of God in their ancestral home."

Nor was Manasseh ben Israel mistaken. His appeal and his treatise met with a favorable reception at the hands of Parliament. Lord Middlesex sent him a letter of thanks with the superscription, "To my dear brother, the Hebrew philosopher, Manasseh ben Israel." A passport for a journey to England was also forwarded to him. Meanwhile, however, the goal which seemed so near was removed once more. A war broke out between England and Holland, and all communications between Amsterdam and London were broken off. But when Oliver Cromwell seized the reins of power in his own hand by dissolving the Long Parliament (April, 1653) and showed an inclination to make peace with the States-General, Manasseh resumed his activities. Cromwell had summoned a new parliament, the so-called Barebones Parliament, which was composed solely of saints, that is, Puritan preachers, biblically minded officers, and mystic enthusiasts. What predilection some of Cromwell's officers entertained for the ancient Jewish constitution may be seen from the circumstance that they proposed, in all seriousness, to select a council consisting of seventy members, to correspond to the number of the Jewish Sanhedrin. General Thomas Harrison, an anabaptist, proposed in Parliament to adopt the Mosaic Law as the constitution of England. Manasseh hastened therefore to renew his request for the admission of Jews into England. The Jewish question was soon made an order of the day in Parliament, and the Parliament invited Manasseh to come to London to negotiate the matter in person. When Cromwell became dictator of England, under the title of Lord Protector, and concluded peace with Holland (April, 1654), Manasseh regarded it as an exceedingly opportune moment to realize his inmost hopes for the redemption of Israel. Even three admirals of the English navy petitioned Cromwell (Oct., 1654) to admit the Jews into England.

Either because some of his coreligionists did not have sufficient confidence in his personality and in his ability to overcome the difficulties in his way, or they feared that his Messianic dreams would prove detrimental to practical negotiations, a Marano, Manuel Martinez Dormido, hastened to London for the express purpose of presenting a petition for the admission of Jews into England. Dormido had formerly occupied an important office in Spain, had amassed wealth, but had been imprisoned for a long time, with his wife and sister, in the dungeons of the inquisition, then fled to Amsterdam where he returned to Judaism, but had sustained serious financial reverses through the loss of Brazil to the Portuguese. In his appeal, Dormido proclaimed himself a Jew openly and emphasized the extraordinary advantage which would accrue to England from the wealth and the international commerce of the Maranos of Spain and Portugal who would henceforth settle in England rather than in Holland. Dormido offered his services to Cromwell as agent for the Jewish emigrants. But though the Protector accepted his petition and submitted it to the consideration of the Council, it met with no favor (Nov., 1654). The Maranos, therefore, placed their hopes in Manasseh again, trusting that his Messianic vagaries might lead to better success.

Manasseh reveled in the dreams of the approaching glory of Israel. He regarded himself as a divinely chosen instrument to bring about the restoration of Israel's hopes. The Christian mystics of the Fifth Kingdom lent strength and support to his dreams. A Hollander, Henry Jesse, had shortly before published a book "On the Approaching Glory of Judah and Israel." The most extravagant of these dreamers was the Bohemian physician, mystic and alchemist, Paul Felgenhauer. Persecuted in Germany by Catholics and Protestants alike, he sought asylum in Amsterdam and formed the acquaintance of Manasseh ben Israel. In his book, "Good Tidings for Israel" (Bonum Nuncium Israeli, etc., Amsterdam, 1655), Felgenhauer asserted his belief in the approaching redemption of Israel. He held the Jewish people, as the seed of Abraham, in high esteem, but the true believers among the gentiles were also the spiritual seed of Abraham. Jews and Christians should therefore love one another and both should be united in God as Judah and Israel of old. This union was close at hand. The bloody Thirty Years' War and the other recent wars to an extent hitherto unacknowledged he regarded as signs that indicated to him the approaching Messianic era.

With a heart beating with joy, Manasseh received Cromwell's invitation to come to England, and he undertook the journey to London (Fall of 1655) which, to his mind, was fraught with universal significance. Cromwell received him with great cordiality and assigned him a residence in London. Manasseh was accompanied by Jacob Sasportas, who had officiated as rabbi in several Spanish communities in Africa and who was a scholar and a man accustomed to the society of eminent men. Other Jews accompanied him in the hope that the admission of Jews would be accomplished without any difficulty. As a matter of fact, some Jews were already living in London, even under Queen Elizabeth, but only secretly, as disguised Portuguese or Spanish foreigners, as was the case in Bordeaux. During the reign of Elizabeth, a Jewish or Marano physician named Lopes acted as protector and interpreter for Antonio, a Portuguese bastard prince, who disputed the possession of Portugal with the king of Spain and expected help from England. Lopes was afterward reluctantly condemned to death by the queen on a charge of treason. Ever still the Maranos who had belonged to Lopes' circle were therefore more careful to hide their adherence to Judaism. Under the Stuarts, a small number of Maranos settled in London as Spanish and Portuguese Christians, and were tolerated on account of their wealth and their commercial connections. The most prominent among them was Antonio Fernandez Carvajal, who was engaged in extensive trans-Atlantic enterprises. Other prominent Marano merchants were Henrique Gorge Mendes, Antonio Rodrigues Robles, whose parents had been condemned by the inquisition, and Simon de Caceres, who submitted to Cromwell the plan of conquering Chile for England with the help of the Maranos. All these Maranos used to gather in the chapel of the Portuguese ambassador, Antonio de Sousa, Carvajal's father-in-law, seemingly for Catholic worship; but the chapel was in reality converted into a synagog. Cromwell and the other statesmen well knew that these Spanish or Portuguese merchants were practising Judaism in secret, but connived at it. These disguised Catholics felt apparently comfortable under their mask, for they made no effort to secure an unequivocal position for themselves, even during the revolution. Manasseh, through his activity, had to force them to it, in a measure.

The question, however, could not be disposed of so quickly. In an audience with Cromwell, Manasseh first presented him with a carefully prepared address. For this purpose he had provided himself with warrants from various European communities that he might plead for the settlement of the Jews in England in the name of the entire Jewish nation. At the same time he published a declaration for the purpose of stating his grounds in favor of the admission of the Jews and of combating the objections and prejudices. His arguments fell into two classes—mystic and commercial. "Our nation is at present scattered everywhere, and is present in every flourishing country, in America as well as in the three other continents, with the sole exception of the great and mighty Island. Hence, before the Messiah arrives and restores our nation to its ancestral home, we must have our abode here also." The other argument stated that England's commerce would be greatly advanced through the Jews because of the increase of the exports and imports from all parts of the world. He referred to the wholesale trade in which the Portuguese Jews were engaged, the commerce in the coins of various countries (exchange), in diamonds, vermilion, indigo, wine and oil. Their financial transactions were not in the nature of usury. The capital of the Portuguese Jews of Holland and Italy was so considerable for the reason that the Maranos of Spain and of Portugal entrusted their ready money to them as a protection against the greed of the inquisition.

Cromwell was decidedly in favor of the reception of the Jews. He may have had in mind the commercial advantages that would accrue to England from the extensive trade of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews; he was also animated by the noble thought of absolute tolerance of all religious denominations. Above all, however, he was moved by the religious desire of winning over the Jews to Christianity by kind treatment. He believed that

Christianity, as it was preached in England by the Independents, free from idolatry and superstition, would ultimately attract the Jews. Cromwell and Manasseh ben Israel met each other with a Messianic mental reservation. Cromwell set to work two of his most zealous Independents, his secretary Hugh Peters, a clergyman, and the ardent Harry Martens, a member of the Privy Council, to create public sentiment in favor of the admission of the Jews.

The time for a serious deliberation of this question finally arrived. Inasmuch as an edict was issued in 1290 expelling the Jews from England for all time to come, the question was whether that law was still binding. Cromwell therefore appointed a commission in Whitehall (Dec. 4, 1655) to deliberate upon two points: whether the readmission of the Jews is in accordance with the law and, in that case, under what condition such readmission was to take place. There was great excitement in London in the course of the deliberation of these questions, and the people argued the matter pro and con. Blind hatred against the crucifiers of the Son of God and blind love for the people of God, fear of Jewish commercial competition and hope of getting the better of Holland and Spain by means of such competition, the prejudice that the Jews might murder Christian children, clip coins or even that they might turn all Englishmen into Jews, all these vague feelings swayed the popular judgment for or against the Jews. Political partisanship, too, played a part in this question. Cromwell's adherents and the republicans in general were for admission; his secret and open antagonists, the Royalists and the Papists, were against it. The people therefore flocked to the hall where the Jewish question was publicly discussed for the first time. The representatives of the constitutional law declared at the very outset that no ancient law excluded the Jews from England, for the expulsion of 1290 was decreed by the king alone, without the consent of Parliament. The representatives of the city kept quiet; but the clergymen, who could not rid themselves of the anti-Jewish feeling which they had absorbed from the gospels and the theological literature, were all the more vehemently opposed to the admission of the Jews. Cromwell, who was anxious to obtain a favorable decision, added three other clergymen, whom he expected to vote favorably. At the final session (Dec. 18, 1655) Cromwell himself presided. On this day, too, the majority of the clergymen were opposed to admission, and only a few voted for admission under certain precautionary conditions. Cromwell, dissatisfied with the course of the proceedings, first permitted the clergymen to refute Manasseh ben Israel's arguments and then spoke himself with much warmth and upbraided the clergymen for befogging the question still further instead of enlightening his conscience as he had hoped. His chief contention was that the pure (Puritanic) gospel must be preached to the Jews in order to attract them to the Church. "Can we preach the gospel to them if we refuse to tolerate them among us?" Cromwell thereupon closed the conference and decided to act upon his own judgment in the matter.

The Privy Council decided, by a majority vote, to grant the Jews admission only under the most restricted conditions, which included even a denial of religious assembly and the privilege of employing Christian servants. Cromwell was, indeed, opposed to such narrow-mindedness; he permitted the Jews to hold religious services in a private dwelling, but beyond that he dared not go. He had to contend not alone with the resistance of the fanatic clergymen, but also with that of the public at large who shared their prejudices. For relentless Jew-haters exerted themselves to the utmost to excite popular sentiment against the admission of Jews. They circulated the most impossible tales about them. The most fanatic enemy of the Jews was a noisy person and pamphleteer, William Prynne, who made a venomous attack upon them in his pamphlet, "A Short Demurrer", in which he repeated all the old malicious charges against them and gave a brief résumé of the anti-Jewish edicts of the thirteenth century. Other anti-Jewish pamphlets also made their appearance. Probably at Cromwell's request, Thomas Collier wrote a refutation of Prynne's charges which he dedicated to the Protector. He concluded his apology in the phrases characteristic of his age: "Let us extoll the Jews! Let us await the glorious day that is to place them at the head of the nations. O, the time is so near at hand when everyone would count himself fortunate who could only lay hold of the garment of a Jew. Our salvation comes from them. Our Jesus was one of them. We are concerned in their prophetic promises and favors. The natural branches were cut off that we might be grafted therein. For God's sake, let us not be ungrateful to them. We had enough when we took possession of all their spiritual treasures."

While the admission of the Jews into England was meeting with so many obstacles, the government of Holland began to look with suspicious eyes upon Manasseh ben Israel's efforts in that direction, for fear that the Jews of Amsterdam would emigrate to England and transfer their capital to that country. Manasseh ben Israel therefore felt called upon to calm the ambassador of Holland in an interview and to assure him that his efforts were directed in behalf of the Spanish and Portuguese Maranos for whom he was seeking to provide an asylum in England. As the Protector, busily occupied with domestic and foreign affairs, had no leisure to settle this question, the admission of the Jews into England seemed hopeless. Manasseh's companions, who had fled from the Pyrenean Peninsula and were on their way to England, returned and settled in Italy or Geneva.

The friends of the Jews, however, did not cease their efforts, and still hoped to produce a favorable change of opinion in the people of England. An eminent person who was close to the government induced Manasseh to publish a brief but comprehensive defense of the Jews. In this pamphlet (Vindicae Judaeorum, or a Letter in Answer to Certain Questions Propounded by a Noble and Learned Gentleman, Touching the Reproaches Cast on the Nation of the Jews, London, 1656), he discusses all the calumnies against the Jews, such as the use of Christian blood for the Passover, the maledictions against Christians and blasphemy of the Christian God in Jewish prayers, and the idolatrous worship of the scrolls of the Torah. This defence of the Jews is perhaps the best work produced by Manasseh ben Israel. It is written with ardent feeling and is therefore convincing. There is indeed no lack of learning displayed in this work, but this erudition was subordinated to the main purpose. Manasseh must have been in a peculiar mood when he composed this defense. He had come to England to take the Christian world by storm, as it were, as the representative of God's people and to pave the way for Israel's dominion over the nations of the earth; whereas this nation now stood in the prisoner's dock, as it were, and he had to defend it. For this reason, the tone of this Letter is not defiant, but on the contrary elegiac: "At the outset I must bewail with bitter tears and with anguish of soul that harsh and horrible charge of some Christians against the scattered and humiliated Jews (I tremble while I write it) that for the fermentation of their bread on the Feast of Passover they make use of the blood of Christians whom they kill for that purpose." To this calumny, repeated so often and asserted by Pyrnne, too, he devotes the greater part of his defense, and it is very cogent. The verification of this charge, he reasons correctly, is traceable either to false witnesses or to confessions under torture on the part of the accused. The truthfulness and the innocence of the accused were often proven, but too late, after their execution. He protests under solemn oath: "I swear that I have never seen such a custom among the people of Israel, and that such a nefarious deed was never practiced or even attempted." After refuting all other accusations against the Jews, he concluded his defense with a fine prayer and with an appeal to England: "I humbly beseech the very honorable English nation to read my arguments without partiality, prejudice and passion, to the end that the prophetic promises may be fulfilled that we may all worship God with one accord and that we may behold the comfort of Zion."

The last work of Manasseh ben Israel produced the desired favorable effect in England. For even though Cromwell, with the increasing difficulties of his government, could not bring about the legal admission of the Jews, he took the first steps in that direction. An incident that then occurred in London moved Cromwell to change his attitude of reserve and to permit the residence of Jews in England. The wealthy merchant Robles was arraigned before the court on the charge of being a Portuguese Papist (1656), and his property was confiscated, because England was then at war with Portugal and did not tolerate Papists in general. But the Privy Council, at Cromwell's suggestion assuredly, set the confiscation aside on the ground that the accused was not a Catholic, but a Jew. This act gave legal recognition to the toleration of Maranos as Jews, and those Maranos who lived in London began gradually to discard their Christian disguise. Through the efforts of Carvajal and Simon de Caceres, permission was granted the Maranos to establish a cemetery of their own for the members of their small community (Feb., 1657). Henceforth they could openly observe their festivals and hold their religious services. They were, however, regarded as foreigners, and had to pay higher taxes as such. Manasseh's enthusiastic zeal was thus not altogether unsuccessful. Cromwell dismissed Manasseh with high honors and settled upon him (Feb. 20, 1657) an annuity of one hundred pounds from the state treasury. But Manasseh did not enjoy his annuity long, for he died, probably worn out by his exertions and disappointment, at Middelburg, while on his way home (Nov., 1657). His body was afterward brought to Amsterdam, and a eulogistic epitaph was put over his grave.

A year later Cromwell died, and with his death the republicans as well as mystic tendencies gave way to a temperate and royalistic state of mind. Hardly two years after Cromwell's death General Monk brought the Pretender, Charles II, back to England in triumph. This jovial king, ever in want of money, had previously been in communication with some Amsterdam Jews, who assured him that the negotiations with Cromwell had been carried on against their will, and Charles had promised that in return for their support of money and weapons he would, upon his restoration, promote the cause of the settlement of the Jews in England. And he kept his promise. He permitted new Jewish immigrants to settle in England without defining their legal status.

The first step was thus taken in the direction of liberating the Jews from the condition of outlawry and of treating them as human beings. But nearly a century and a half passed before their complete enfranchisement was enacted into law in one portion of Europe. In the course of that time a slight attempt was similarly made in other places toward the liberation and purification of Judaism, the three-thousand-year-old law. But the completion of this process of purification requires a much longer time, and has not been accomplished.

The three-thousand-year-old Judaism was then—and how could it be otherwise?—comparable to a noble kernel which had become so encrusted with foreign substance that very few could recognize it. The fundamental thoughts of the prophets had long ago been overlaid with many layers of Sopheric and Talmudic interpretations and fences around the Law. On top of these, new strata were formed in the course of the centuries from the Gaonic, Spanish, French, German and Polish rabbinic schools, and these layers and strata were enclosed in an ugly, mouldy crust, the cabala, that gradually crept into and spread through every gap and crevice. All these new formations arrogated to themselves the authority of antiquity, and were regarded as inviolable. People no longer inquired as to what the Torah or what the prophets taught; they hardly paid attention as to what the Talmud regarded as essential or non-essential; only the rabbinic authorities alone, Joseph Caro and Moses Isserless in the last instance, decided what was religious and what was Jewish. This parasitic plant stifled the entire religious life of the Jews. Nearly all rabbis and leaders of Jewish communities, whether in a small Polish town, or in cultured Amsterdam, the Chacham Isaac Aboab de Fonseca or Isaiah Hurwitz (rabbi in Frankfort, Prague, Posen and Cracow), who had emigrated to Palestine, were all alike deluded by the cabala. Strongly entrenched since the fourteenth century, ever since the study of the sciences was proscribed, the cabala made such gigantic strides from the time of Isaac Luria, or rather wrought such titanic ravages that nothing could check it. The Lurian vagaries about the origin, migration and union of souls, the means of redemption and miracle-working which attracted ever more adherents to his teachings, gained the mastery and befogged the minds and hardened the hearts. Luria's disciples, "the Lion's Whelps," as they styled themselves, and particularly Vital Hayim Calabrese and his sons, began a missionary activity, spread the most insipid tales about his miracles and wrapped themselves in mysteries to attract a larger crowd. Hayim Vital Calabrese imposed upon the easily duped people of Palestine and the neighboring countries for nearly fifty years (1572-1620) up to the time of his death, and he found eager disciples who spread his deceptive teachings. Israel Saruk introduced the Lurian cabala into Italy and Holland. Alfonso or Abraham de Herrera (d. 1639), a descendant of the Spanish captain-general and viceroy of Naples on his mother's side, became a cabalist, and wrote a book on mysticism. Manasseh ben Israel and all his older and younger contemporaries in Holland were implicit believers in the cabala, and did not doubt its divine origin. Meanwhile, however, rents and fissures began to appear in the thick, ugly crust that covered this pseudo-Judaism, which indicated the beginning of the process of disintegration. Here and there, there were a few men of impartial judgment who entertained doubts of the truth of Judaism in its rabbinic and cabalistic form, and even of its Talmudic interpretation. Others passed from doubt to certainty, and agitated more or less openly against current Judaism. Such skeptics naturally were found not among the Jews of Germany, Poland or Asia, but in Italian and Portuguese communities that came in contact with educated circles. Loyal as the Maranos were to their ancestral faith, after their flight and settlement in more tolerant places, the perversion of Judaism as a result of rabbinic punctiliousness and sophistry could not escape them. They were not accustomed to it from early youth. A Hamburg Jew of Marano descent adduced several proofs against the correctness of Talmudic traditions and additions. These doubts, entertained only by a few individuals, in the shape of an uneasy and uncomfortable feeling at what passed current as religious, three or four gifted men gave conscious expression to simultaneously with more or less publicity. These men were Uriel Acosta, Judah Leon Modena, and Joseph Delmedigo; Simone Luzzatto may also be included among them. These men made the first attempt to lay bare the defects of current Judaism; though none of them was able to offer a remedy and still less to apply it in practice.

Uriel da Costa (Gabriel Acosta, born about 1590, died 1640) was an eccentric personality whose inner impulses and outward life had inevitably to lead to a clash with Judaism. He was a descendant of a Portuguese Marano family of Oporto whom the terrors of the inquisition had in the course of time transformed into sincere Catholics. From his father, the youthful Gabriel learned Catholic piety and the knightly virtues. He entered upon the only career still open to the youth of the Portuguese upper middle class; he was destined for the law which could also serve as a transition to the clerical profession. In his youth, the Jesuits had already gained supremacy in Portugal, and their system of enslaving the popular mind by painting the terrors of hell had taken deep root. Only punctilious, mechanical religious acts and constant confessions could save one from everlasting damnation. But despite his punctilious piety, Gabriel da Costa's conscience was ill at ease; something of the inquiring Jewish spirit remained in his nature that conflicted with the Catholic doctrines. The more he absorbed himself in the Catholic and Jesuitic dogmatic theology, the greater his doubts grew and disturbed his conscience. To banish his doubts, he began to investigate the most ancient documents of the Scriptures, and he sought in the prophets the solution of the riddles which the Roman-Catholic church ordinances presented to him daily. In the pure spirit that breathed upon him from the pages of the Old Testament, even in its distorted Latin form, he found peace. The doctrines of Judaism seemed all the more convincing to him since both the New Testament and the Church acknowledged them in reality. Da Costa therefore decided to abandon Catholicism and to embrace Judaism. A man of impetuous nature, he determined to carry out his decision quickly. With great care he informed his mother and brothers (his father had died meanwhile) of his determination, and they all agreed to escape from Portugal and to embrace Judaism. The family Da Costa succeeded in eluding the Argus-eyed espionage of the inquisition, and arrived safely in Amsterdam (1617-18), where they openly accepted Judaism. Gabriel changed his name to Uriel.

Hot-blooded by nature, an enthusiast, Uriel da Costa conceived an ideal Judaism which he expected to see realized in Amsterdam. He expected to see the young Amsterdam community living under biblical conditions, and to find among them a loftiness of spirit that would solve for him at one stroke all the problems which the Catholic Church had failed to solve. Da Costa had constructed religious and dogmatic air-castles and was provoked because he couldn't find them in real life. He soon discovered that the religious life of the Amsterdam community and the existing laws did not correspond with the Mosaic and Pentateuchal prescriptions. Because he had made such great sacrifices for the sake of his convictions, he believed that he had the right to state his opinions frankly and to point out the chasm that yawned between biblical and rabbinic Judaism. He permitted his irritation to get the better of him, violated religious usages, and believed that he was performing a service to God in thus defying the ordinances of the "Pharisees" (as he styled the rabbis in the familiar phrase of the Church). This conduct naturally involved him into difficulties that assumed a tragic aspect in the course of time. Should the Amsterdam Jews who had suffered so much for their religion look on with indifference at this defiance and contempt of the Judaism which had become so dear to them on the part of one of their members? They, born and bred in the land of the inquisition, had no conception of religious tolerance. The rabbis threatened Da Costa with expulsion from religious fellowship if he persisted in violating the religious ordinances. This opposition irritated still more the hot-tempered man; he would not permit himself to be fettered by new chains as a result of the sacrifice which he had brought. He persisted in defying the rabbinical ordinances, and was excommunicated. His own kinsmen avoided him and refused to have intercourse with him. Da Costa thus remained alone and forsaken in a big city. Separated from his coreligionists, friends and relatives, unable to communicate with the Christian inhabitants of Amsterdam whose language he had not acquired as yet, and thrown upon his own resources, he sank ever more deeply into gloomy meditation. In his overexcitement he published a treatise, "Examination into Pharisaic Traditions," which was an attack on traditional Judaism. As he thereby announced unequivocally his rupture with Judaism, he had to suffer the consequences. The official representatives of the Amsterdam community appeared before the magistrates with the accusation that he denied the immortality of the soul, that he thus attacked the teachings not alone of Judaism, but of Christianity as well, and that he was spreading heresy. Da Costa was arrested, remained in jail several days, and was sentenced to pay a fine. For fifteen years he remained under the ban. Finally, unable to bear his isolation any longer and with the intention of marrying, which he could not do while under the ban, he yielded to the urgent entreaties of one of his kinsmen to seek reconciliation with the community. He acknowledged Judaism with his lips at the very time when his convictions rebelled against it.

Da Costa was ready to exchange his convictions for quietude and comfort; but his passionate nature deprived him of both. He would not submit to restraints in order to satisfy the religious usages of Judaism, but violated them secretly. The quarrel between him and the representatives of the community broke out anew. The rabbis summoned him once more before their tribunal, upbraided him for his violation of religious usages, and gave him the choice between a solemn public penance and a second harsher excommunication. Out of self-respect he refused to submit to penance, and the penalty of excommunication in an even harsher form was imposed upon him once more. He remained under the second ban seven years. He was most severely mistreated by his relatives, because they hoped thereby to force him to submit to penance.

Arrived at middle age, meanwhile, and exhausted by the struggles and excitement, Da Costa longed for quietude once more, and decided to submit. Thereupon he was led into a synagog full of men and women; it was to be a Jewish auto-da-fé, as it were, and his penitence was to receive the greatest publicity possible. At the synagog he mounted the platform and read his confession that he had desecrated the Sabbath, disregarded the dietary laws, denied the articles of faith, and dissuaded people from embracing Judaism. He promised solemnly not to repeat these offences in the future, but to live as a loyal Jew. He thereupon betook himself to a corner of the synagog, bared his body to the waist, and received thirty-nine stripes. Then he had to sit upon the ground, whereupon the ban was removed. This, however, was not yet the end; he had to lie prostrate on the threshold of the synagog, that those present might step across him. It was a refinement of penance, modeled after the inquisition, with whose methods the Maranos were familiar. The disgrace and humiliation which he suffered inspired Da Costa with thoughts of revenge. He decided to die, but also to wreak his vengeance at the same time upon his chief persecutor, his brother (or cousin). To excite the sympathy of his contemporaries and of posterity with his misfortune, he wrote down his sad experiences and his religious views, intermingled with invectives against and aspersions upon the Jews. Upon completing his passionate last will and testament, he loaded two pistols, fired one at his relative who was passing his house, missed him, and killed himself with the other (April, 1640). The people, who ran into his house upon hearing the report of the shot, found upon his table his autobiography: "An Example of Human Life" (Exemplar humanæ vitæ). The effect of his career upon Jewish life was like that of a mischievous boy who breaks the windows of a stuffy building, thus making an opening for the circulation of fresh air.

The second mole-like agitator of this period, Leon (Judah) Modena (1511-1649), was a member of a learned family that settled in Italy at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from France. His ancestors were men of erudition, but given also to idle superstition and odd fancies. This family trait Modena possessed in a high degree. He was an infant prodigy; at three he could read the weekly portion from the Prophets; at ten he delivered a sort of sermon; at thirteen he wrote a skillful dialog about the merits and demerits of cards and dice, and composed an elegy on the death of his teacher, Moses Basula, in Hebrew and Italian verses, which sound alike. But this wonderful child did not grow into a wonderful man. Modena developed into an astounding polyhistor. Just as he tried his hand at all sorts of trades in order to earn a livelihood, was preacher, teacher of Jews and Christians, precentor, interpreter, writer, proofreader, book-dealer, broker, merchant, rabbi, musician and a writer of amulets, so he pursued many branches of science without excelling in any. He possessed a comprehensive knowledge of the entire biblical, Talmudic and rabbinic literature, read everything that was accessible to him through the medium of Hebrew, Latin and Italian, and retained everything, for he had a very retentive memory. But he found no joy and no satisfaction either in knowledge or in poetry. Knowledge did not refine and ennoble him. Dissatisfied with himself and his fate, in constant excitement on account of his passion for gaming, struggling with poverty, his mind was never at peace. Religion had no influence on his soul; he preached to others, but not to himself. Unbelief and superstition were constantly at war within him. He lacked both seriousness and conviction, or, rather, he had a different conviction every day in accordance with the mood he was in, without being a hypocrite. One day he would defend the Talmud and rabbinic Judaism, and condemn them on another. He made sport of the transmigration of souls emphasized by the cabala, but, struck by an unusual incident, he believed in it again—for the moment, at least.

Leon de Modena came in frequent contact with Christians, and Christian students sat at his feet. The French Bishop, Jacob Plantavicius, and the half-demented Christian cabalist, Jacob Gaffarelli, were his pupils. Noblemen and scholars were in correspondence with him, and permitted him to dedicate his writings to them in flattering addresses. Leon de Modena occupied about the same position in Italy as Manasseh ben Israel did in Holland.

In conversation with serious men or in the gay circles of card players, he often heard Jewish practices ridiculed as childish pranks. At first he defended them; gradually, however, he was led to admit that one or another Jewish rite was incongruous and absurd, for he was ashamed to be a Jew in every respect and to vindicate everything Jewish. His want of money led him to comply with the request of his Christian friends, and particularly of an English lord, to make some portions and ultimately the entire body of Jewish rites and ceremonies accessible to the Christian public in Italian; this he published and dedicated to the French ambassador to Venice. By the publication of this work, which was eagerly read by Christians, Leon de Modena exposed Judaism to mockery and ridicule. To outsiders those rites and ceremonies which were matters of piety in Jewish circles, appeared trivial and childish. In this book he described in detail all the ordinances and ceremonies practised by Jews, in connection with their residences, garments, home affairs, rising and retiring, function of the organs of the body, and with the synagogs and schools. The author involuntarily thus joined the ranks of the scorners of Judaism, which, as a rabbi, he taught and practiced himself. In his preface he thus touches on this point: "While writing this book, I have in truth forgotten that I was a Hebrew, and regarded myself solely as an impartial narrator. I do not deny, however, that I have endeavored to avoid the ridicule which many ceremonies would provoke; but it was not my intention to defend or to palliate them, because I desired not to convince, but only to impart information."

But Leon Modena did by no means sever his connections with rabbinic Judaism. He was not a man of strong and enduring convictions. Almost at the same time when he exposed the Jewish rites to the Christian public, he wrote a defense of the biblical and particularly of the Oral Law against the attacks made upon it by a Jewish writer (Magen ve-Zinnah). A few years later (1624) he wrote another book, which is the best that issued from his ready pen. It contains, on the one hand, serious attacks upon rabbinic Judaism such as had never been made heretofore by Christians and Karaites (Kol Shahal), and a vigorous defence on the other (Shaagath Aryeh). Not daring to admit that the charges against existing Judaism and the Talmud were his own, he ascribed them to a fictitious author. The discord of his own mind, and his fleeting convictions, lent to Leon Modena a dual personality. He makes the opponent of Judaism speak with a boldness which even Uriel da Costa hardly dared employ. He went to the extent of making suggestions for the removal of all the excrescences from Judaism, and for the restoration of the genuine, ancient, biblical, inward Judaism in all its purity—the first attempt at reform. Simplification of the prayers and of public worship, abolition of certain ritual practices and of the observance of the second day of festivals, relief from the burdensome laws connected with the Sabbath, festivals, Passover, and even with the Day of Atonement ("Each one should fast in proportion to his physical and mental strength"), the rites connected with the slaughter of animals, the dietary laws; in a word, he wanted everything either completely removed or simplified.

Had Leon Modena presented to the world this bold and revolutionary aspect of Judaism in all seriousness, as the result of deep convictions, he would undoubtedly have created a strong reform movement within Judaism. But both his attack on and his defense of the Talmud were with him a mere matter of intellectual sport, and he left both unpublished. His attack on the cabala (Ari Nohem) is of a more serious nature; but this work, too, he failed to publish. To the very end of his long career he persisted in his habits of irregularity. He reproved himself frequently in his autobiography (Hayeh Judah) without changing for the better. Leon Modena died exhausted in the combat, not with the gods (that is, ideas) and men, but with himself and the abject poverty which he brought on himself.

Apparently similar but essentially different from him was the third agitator of this period, Joseph Solomon Delmedigo (1591-1655). He was a scion of an old noble and scholarly family and great-grandson, on his mother's side, of the celebrated philosopher, Elijah Delmedigo, but he resembled his illustrious ancestor but little. He received his scientific education in the University of Padua; he had a decided inclination for mathematics and astronomy, and could boast of being a pupil of the great Galilei, the celebrated astronomer, the martyr of science. Through his great teacher he became acquainted with the Copernican system; but neither Delmedigo nor any other believing Jew entertained the delusion that this heliocentric theory was to be regarded as heretical. Delmedigo studied medicine, too, but only as a profession; but mathematics ever remained his specialty. Meanwhile, he stored his mind with all kinds of knowledge and became even more of a polyhistor than Leon Modena, to whom he attached himself while in Italy and whom he regarded as his teacher. In the environment of Jewish-Italian latitudinarians, he lost the naive faith which he had imbibed at his father's house; and doubts about the truth of traditional Judaism began to steal upon him, but he did not possess sufficient zeal for the truth, either to conquer these doubts or to give them free scope. Joseph Delmedigo was as ill-adapted to suffer martyrdom for the sake of his conviction as was Leon Modena; the latter because of his vacillation, the former because of his insincerity.

Delmedigo returned to his home in Candia a skeptic, gave offense by his free thoughts, and was compelled to leave his native town once more. Thus began his nomadic career that drove him restlessly from place to place, like that of his prototype, Abraham Ibn Ezra. Like him, too, he sought the society of Karaites wherever he came upon them, and the latter attached themselves to him. In Cairo he enjoyed a veritable triumph through his knowledge of mathematics, when an old Mohammedan teacher of mathematics challenged him, almost a mere youth, to a public contest, and lost. The defeated Mohammedan was generous enough to treat the victor with great distinction in the presence of all the people. Delmedigo then journeyed to Constantinople, and wandered finally to Poland. As mathematics could not afford him a livelihood, he fell back upon the practice of medicine which, however, he knew only theoretically. He was, however, regarded a great physician in Poland, and Prince Radziwill, who lived near Vilna, engaged his services (1616-20). Here, where the supremacy of the Talmudic studies had banished all secular knowledge, studious youths and men, particularly Karaites, crowded about him to quench their thirst for knowledge.

Delmedigo, it seems, did not feel comfortable in Poland either. He could not carouse with the noblemen whom he treated professionally for fear of the Jews, and there was no opportunity to earn money in that moneyless country. He therefore repaired to Hamburg, in the recently admitted Portuguese community. As his medical attainments were not valued highly in Hamburg, the seat of two famous Jewish physicians, he was compelled to accept a rabbinic office of some kind and thus to play the hypocrite for bread. To dissipate the rumors that crossed over from Poland, charging him with heresy, he wrote a defense of the cabala, which he had condemned a short while ago, against the crushing arguments of his great-grandfather, Elijah Delmedigo. But this work was well calculated to throw dust in the eyes of the multitude. A man of his intelligence, however, could not possibly long bear an air of downright stupidity without a satiric grin.

From Hamburg he went to Amsterdam at the very time when that community, because of Da Costa's reckless conduct, was full of suspicion against men of philosophic training. Delmedigo himself thought it advisable to divert all suspicion of heresy from himself and to pose as a strict orthodox. But this transparent hypocrisy did not avail him much. He was, indeed, appointed preacher and possibly even rabbi in or near Amsterdam, but he could maintain himself in Holland only a few years. Destitute and without a fixed home, he came to Frankfort-on-the-Main to seek a livelihood (1629). In that German city where rabbinic learning was widely disseminated, he could not obtain a rabbinic office, and fell back upon medicine once more. He became the community physician, but the terms under which he served must have been unsatisfactory, for he removed to Prague (about 1640-50), where he remained to the end of his life which was so rich in promise, but so poor in performance. His agitation had an effect only on limited circles.

In a certain sense, Simone (Simha) Luzzatto (b. ab. 1590; d. 1663) may be included among the agitators of this period. He officiated as rabbi of Venice together with Leon Modena, but he possessed greater intrinsic worth than either Modena or Delmedigo. The latter, who knew him personally, praises him as an eminent mathematician. He was thoroughly familiar with the ancient and newer literature, and was a man of sincerity and a lover of truth. A parable (Socrate) which he wrote in Italian in his youth indicated both his sentiments and the maturity of the conclusion to which he had come early in life with reference to the relation between science and faith. He put his thoughts in the mouth of Socrates, the father of Greek philosophy. Reason petitions the academy to release her from the prison in which religious authority had moved from office. But the released spirits do much harm among men, and the academicians are help- kept her so long. This is done, and authority is re- less. Socrates thereupon appears on the scene, and sets forth in a long monologue that when either reason or authority is given absolute power, error and harm must inevitably result, but when, on the contrary, they are mutually restricted, reason by revelation and revelation by reason, proper moderation and a beautiful harmony are produced.

Simone Luzzatto did not permit himself to be deluded by cabalistic vagaries; he was a believing Jew, but took reason as his guide. In a masterly defense of Jews and Judaism, his "Discourse on the Condition of the Hebrews" (Discorso circa il stato degli Hebrei, Venice, 1638), he adjures all lovers of truth to value the remnant of the ancient Hebrew people, though stunted and disfigured by suffering, not less lightly than a mutilated masterpiece of Phidias or Lysippus, since all admit that that people was once guided by the Supreme Artist Himself. The immediate object of Luzzatto's apology was to disarm the malevolence of some Venetian patricians against the Jews. The common people of Venice betrayed less antipathy to the Jews, because they were partly dependent on the latter for their livelihood; but among the ruling classes there was a number who, out of religious fanaticism and envy, proposed to impose still greater restrictions upon the Jews, or to expel them altogether. They could not tolerate the idea that the Venetian Jews, shut up in a ghetto and denied the right to own real estate or to engage in handicraft, should compete with them in commercial and financial operations. Venice, the commercial emporium, outstripped by far and gradually driven from the Levant by Holland and England, the newly risen maritime states, saw some of its proud commercial houses sink into splendid decay while Jewish capitalists stepped into their places and seized the Levantine trade into their hands. In well-chosen phrases and with gentle innuendo, Luzzatto intimated to the politicians of Venice that the maritime trade hitherto enjoyed by Venice is about to pass into the hands of strangers, because the well-to-do patricians were concerned only with conserving what they already acquired and with the pursuit of pleasure. The Jews were therefore a blessing to the state. It was more advisable, after all, to leave the extensive commerce, particularly the Oriental trade, in the hands of native Jews than to see it fall into the hands of foreigners who formed a state within a state in the very city of Venice and who gradually carried the ready money out of the country. Luzzatto calculated from statistical figures that the Jews contributed annually to the treasury of the Republic more than 250,000 ducats, that they provided a livelihood for four thousand workmen, that they supplied domestic manufactures cheaply, and furnished the people with goods from the most distant countries. The wise statesmen had to be first enlightened by a rabbi on the political-economical situation which was of such vital importance to the Island Republic. Luzzatto calls attention likewise to the great services which the Jews had rendered the state recently during the pestilence, while the police regulations were suspended, by offering the government enough money to carry on its activities, and thus saved it from embarrassment.

But while extolling the virtues of his Jewish contemporaries, he does not overlook their shortcomings. "Different as the Venetian Jews are from their brethren of Turkey, Germany and Poland, they all have something in common, after all. They are a nation timorous and unmanly, incapable, in its present condition, of political government, absorbed only in its own peculiar interests and concerned but little with the general welfare. Their thrift borders on avarice; they are admirers of antiquity and have no eyes for the present course of events. Many of them are uncultured, with no desire for knowledge or the study of languages. Their observance of religious ceremonies savors of punctiliousness. But they have likewise noteworthy characteristics. They possess firmness and steadfastness in their religion and astounding perseverance, if not in facing dangers, at least in enduring the most bitter wretchedness. They are familiar with Holy Writ and its interpretation, are benevolent and hospitable to their coreligionists, feel a profound sympathy for one another, the Persian Jew suffering in the misfortune of his Italian brother; are abstemious in their habits, take extraordinary care to guard the purity of their families, and are skillful in dealing with complicated affairs. They are submissive and docile to all men excepting their own coreligionists." His opinion of Talmudic and rabbinic Judaism is stated rather vaguely, but indicates that he regards the esoteric doctrines of Judaism as of foreign origin.

These four thinkers who were more or less dissatisfied with existing Judaism, all men equipped with ability, learning and a ready pen, made nevertheless but a slight impression upon their contemporaries, and did not make even the least indentation in the thick crust that covered rabbinic Judaism. But from two other points, and by two diametrically opposed personalities, such violent attacks were made on Talmudic and rabbinic Judaism that its destruction seemed imminent. Reason, incarnate, as it were, in one Jew, and unreason in another, joined hands in an effort to undermine existing Judaism and, so to speak, to dethrone the God of Israel.

CHAPTER V.

SPINOZA AND SABBATHAI ZEBI

(1666-1678)

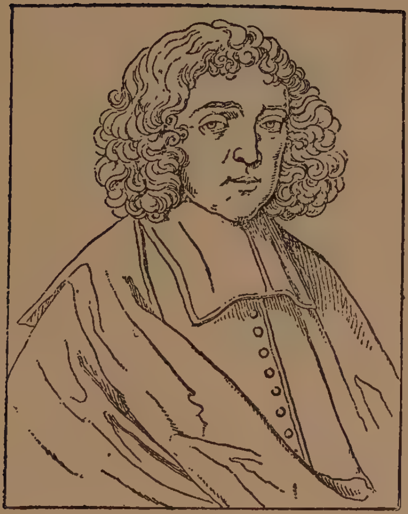
While Manasseh ben Israel was using every exertion to bring the structure of Judaism to its Messianic completion, one of his pupils was driving the it to a heap of dust. What was mere play with wedge into this very structure in order to reduce Leon Modena was with him all seriousness. The Jewish race once more produced a profound thinker who was destined to eradicate the deep-rooted errors from the human mind and to point out a new direction that was to lead to a better understanding of the union between heaven and earth or soul and body. Like his ancestor Abraham, this Jewish thinker undertook to destroy all idols and images to which mankind had hitherto bent the knee out of fear, habit, and mental slothfulness, and to reveal to them a new God who dwells in their own heart and not in the inaccessible heights of heaven. This thinker produced the effect of a storm, deafening and crushing, but also purifying and refreshing.

This great or, more correctly, greatest thinker of his age who brought a new deliverance, was Baruch Spinoza (born in Spain 1632, died 1677). No portent announced at his birth that even two centuries later he would still reign as king in the realm of thought. His thirst for knowledge impelled him to go beyond the limited curriculum which was offered him in Morteira's school. He absorbed himself in the works of older Jewish thinkers, three of whom attracted him at the same time: Abraham Ibn Ezra, with his liberalism and mystifications; Maimonides, with his ingenious system of reconciling belief and knowledge, Judaism and philosophy, and Hasdai Crescas, with his hostility to scholastic philosophy. These elements of knowledge set his mind in a ferment, in its struggle after clarity, and stirred perplexing doubts within his soul. Even as a lad of fifteen, he is said to have given utterance to his doubts in the form of trenchant questions addressed to his teacher, Morteira. These doubts which came to him from reading the Jewish philosophers were further augmented by outside influences. He sought the instruction of a distinguished philologist of that day, the physician Franz van den Enden, who delivered lectures to aristocratic youths of Amsterdam and other cities. From his contact with educated Christian youths he obtained different views from those that prevailed in his Jewish environment; and his teacher, too, exerted a great influence upon him. The natural sciences, mathematics and physics, which he loved, and the new philosophy of Descartes which particularly appealed to his mind, broadened his horizon and clarified his judgment, and the more his keenly logical mind developed, the more estranged he became to Judaism in its disfigured rabbinic and cabalistic form.

Spinoza worshipped independent reason that disregards all traditional and time-hallowed notions, and that follows its own laws, with a pure and absolute devotion. Any idea that could not stand the impartial test of clear, human judgment, he regarded as false and absurd. His impulse for truth, for pure truth and certainty, led him to a complete rupture with the religion which he loved in his youth; he discarded Talmudic Judaism and looked upon the Bible as a mere human work. Spinoza was as deeply moral by nature as he was a profound thinker. To regard anything untrue in theory, to conform to it outwardly, out of fear, habit or profit, was simply inconceivable to him. His disposition differed totally from that of his master Descartes, whom he admired so much, who kept the torch of truth which he had kindled away from the Church for fear of setting fire to it, and who vowed a pilgrimage to the Madonna of Loretto for the success of his system of philosophy which was intended to overthrow Christianity. Spinoza demanded that every deed be a true copy of reason. As soon as he reached the conviction that Judaism was not compatible with truth, he saw no longer any reason for observing its ritual prescriptions. He no longer attended synagogal worship, paid no attention to Sabbaths and festivals, and violated the dietary laws. He imparted his own convictions to the youths who sought instruction from him.

The representatives of the Amsterdam community were all the more disconcerted at the news of Spinoza's estrangement from Judaism, because they had placed such great hopes upon this highly gifted youth. They feared that he would forsake them, embrace Christianity, and use his gifts of mind to attack his mother religion. Were the rabbis and the communal leaders to look on with indifference at a deliberate destruction of Judaism in their midst? Fugitives from Portugal and Spain were still arriving, who gave up honored stations and risked their property and their lives that they might acknowledge Judaism openly. Others, because of their staunch loyalty to the faith of their fathers, endured imprisonment in the dungeons of the inquisition, or died joyously at the stakes. "In Spain and Portugal, monasteries and nunneries were filled with Jews. Among those there was quite a number who were loyal at heart and acted the hypocrite for the sake of their worldly possessions. Others were tortured by remorse, and fled when the opportunity presented itself. In Amsterdam and in several other places there were former monks, Augustinians, Franciscans, Jesuits and Dominicans who abjured the Catholic faith. In Spain there were bishops and monks whose parents, brothers and sisters practiced Judaism openly in Amsterdam and other cities." In the very years when Spinoza turned his back upon Judaism there ascended to heaven the smoke from the blazing pyres on which Jewish martyrs were sacrificed in several cities of Spain and Portugal. While on a business visit to Lisbon, Manuel Fernando da Villa-Real, a prominent Marano, statesman, political writer and poet, who was the Portuguese consul at Paris, was seized by the inquisition, gagged and led to his death (Dec. 1, 1652). In Cuenca (Spain), fifty-seven Judaizing Christians were dragged to the auto-da-fé in one day (June 29, 1654), and ten of them were burned. Among them was the court-saddler Balthasar Lopez of Valladolid, who possessed property to the amount of 100,000 ducats. Lopez faced his death calmly, and even made sport of the inquisition and Christianity on his way to the stake. The death at the stake of two Maranos by name of Bernal within an interval of two months (March, May 3, 1655), stirred the Amsterdam community to its very depth. Whoever had the faculty of writing verses in Spanish, Portuguese, or Latin, sang a dirge in memory of the two Bernals. In Spinoza's views all these martyrs, and the thousands of Jewish victims still hounded by the inquisition were pursuing a phantom. Were the representatives of Jewry, in their immediate proximity, to let his opinion that Judaism was a three-thousand-year delusion, go uncensored?

The Rabbinical College of Amsterdam first gathered evidence and made note of the change in Spinoza's views and conduct. He was thereupon summoned to appear before the tribunal, examined, and admonished to return to his old life. At first the tribunal did not treat him with severity. Because of the firmness of his character, Spinoza made no concessions, and insisted upon freedom of inquiry, thought and action. This firmness was interpreted as obstinacy and spite, but the authorities were reluctant to proceed with the severity of the rabbinical law against him, lest they drive him into the arms of the Church. What mischief the conversion to Christianity of such a prominent youth might bring upon the rather young community, composed of New-Christians, and what effect it would have upon the Maranos of Spain and Portugal! Accordingly, the rabbis offered Spinoza secretly through his friends an annuity of one thousand guldens on condition that he take no hostile step against Judaism and that he appear in the synagog every now and then. But Spinoza possessed such a firm character that money could not lure him to deny his convictions or to play the hypocrite. He insisted upon freedom of inquiry and examination, and continued to impart his heretical views to Jewish youths. The relations between him and the representatives of Judaism became more strained day by day. An Amsterdam fanatic made an attempt upon Spinoza's life with a knife, as he was leaving the theatre, in order to rid the community of such a dangerous heretic. But this attempt proved unsuccessful. Spinoza consequently left Amsterdam and proceeded to a friend who had like-



Baruch Spinoza

wise been persecuted by the dominant Calvinistic Church as a heretic, an adherent of the sect of Rhynsburger or Collectants, who lived in a village between Amsterdam and Oudekerk. After this incident a reconciliation between Spinoza and the synagog was out of the question. The rabbis accordingly pronounced the severest ban (Herem) against him, and proclaimed it solemnly in Portuguese from the pulpit in front of the open ark (Thursday, sixth of Ab—July 27, 1656), thus: "The authorities had for some time been informed of the evil ideas and conduct of Baruch de Spinoza which grew worse from day to day despite the efforts that were made to induce him to discontinue them. He was particularly guilty of teaching horrible heresies, as was testified to by trustworthy witnesses in the presence of the accused." All these charges were proven in the presence of the chachams, and the Communal Board therefore decided to pronounce the ban against him and to exclude him from the community. Thereupon in the presence of the scrolls of the Torah the customary curses were pronounced upon him and the Board warned everybody in conclusion not to communicate with him by spoken or written word, to confer no favor upon him, not to live with him under one roof or to approach him within four cubits, or to read any of his writings. Spinoza's excommunication was made more severe than usual in order to keep young men away from his heresies.

It is reported that Spinoza received the news of his excommunication with indifference and that he remarked that he was driven to do what he would have done voluntarily anyway. After all, however, this incident did not pass off without some effect upon him. The officials of the Portuguese community petitioned the city authorities to banish Spinoza from Amsterdam for all time. Inasmuch as this question was a theological one, after all, the magistrates consulted the clergy, and the latter proposed that he be banished for several months. These proceedings most probably induced him to prepare an apology in order to convince the civil authorities that he had committed no crime against the laws of the state, but had merely exercised his absolute right to meditate upon the religion of his fathers and religion in general, and to advance a different view of the subject. The train of thought that suggested itself to Spinoza in the preparation of this apology gave him the occasion to treat the question of the freedom of thought and of inquiry in general, and he thus laid the foundation for the first of the thought-provoking works that rendered him immortal. In his retirement (1656-64), Spinoza occupied himself with grinding optical lenses as a means of livelihood, with the Cartesian philosophy and with the writing of his work, "Tractatus theologico-politicus." His main object in writing this book was to prove that freedom of thought can and must be granted without detriment to religion and to public peace, for, when such freedom is denied, religion and peace cannot exist.

The magnificent structure of reason which Spinoza erected rendered the defense of freedom of thought rather more difficult. Men are to him, in a measure, "like the fish of the sea, like creeping things, that have no ruler." The large fish possess the right not only to sip the water, but also to swallow the smaller fish because they have the power to do so; among human beings, too, the sphere of the individual's right extends no further than his sphere of might. This natural law recognizes no distinction between virtue and vice, between kindness and violence. But because such a condition of extreme individual positiveness must inevitably lead to constant warfare between the individual and society, mankind, prompted by fear, hope or intelligence, tacitly yielded their extensive powers and transferred them to a collective being, the state. The state thus possesses the right of all, because it possesses the might of all individuals. Out of self-interest, every individual is bound to obey the state even when it orders him to kill another individual; every resistance to it is not only criminal but also irrational. But this supreme power of the state extends not only over the civil affairs of the individual, but also over his spiritual and religious views; the state could not exist if every individual were given the right to disorganize it under the pretext of religion. The state thus possesses the sole authority to regulate the religious affairs and to decide what is orthodoxy and what heresy. What a conclusion to come to! Just as this Spinozistic theory recognizes no moral right, so it fails to recognize conscientiousness and loyalty. As soon as the government becomes feeble and loses its power, it has no longer any claim upon obedience; every individual may renounce and resist it in order to submit to the newly risen power. Spinoza's theory almost proscribes freedom of thought and of opinion. Whoever speaks against any regulation of the state in order to arraign the government or to render it odious is to be regarded as a disturber of the peace. Spinoza could save freedom of thought and of speech only by a piece of sophistry. Such freedom is a natural right of the individual, and is the only one which the individual did not surrender or transfer to the state because it is essentially inalienable. Every individual must therefore be granted the right to hold opinions contrary to those of the government, and to judge, speak or teach them, if it is only done with reason and prudence, without deception, anger and hatred, and without the intention of bringing about a revolution. On such feeble grounds Spinoza justifies his war against Judaism and his philosophic attacks upon the Old Testament which the Dutch states, too, regarded as sacred. Spinoza was so full of resentment, if not hatred, against Jews and Judaism that his usual clear judgment became warped in consequence. Like Da Costa, he calls the rabbis nothing else than Pharisees, and ascribes to them low and self-seeking motives while, as a matter of fact, their only aim was to protect their inherited treasure from attack.

Proud of the "reason" which the Church had suppressed for centuries and which then rebounded with all the greater force, Spinoza summoned theology, and particularly ancient Judiasm, before her tribunal, examined its dogmas and documents, and pronounced a sentence of condemnation upon his mother. Spinoza had erected in his brain a lofty tower of thought, from which he wished to storm the heavens, as it were. Above every thinker who preceded him, Spinoza recognized stern, immutable laws in the entire universe; in the circular movement of the heavenly bodies, in the regularity of mathematical thinking as well as in the seeming disorder of wild passions. The entire universe, the individual things and their activities are, in Spinoza's opinion, not only *from* God but *in* God; they are the endless series of shapes and forms through which God reveals Himself; through which He acts according to His eternal nature; the soul is, in a measure, rational body, and the body is soul extending into space. God is the immanent cause of all things, not an external force; everything is in God and is moved by Him. God, as creator and generator of all things, is the generating or self-developing nature. Things could not be different from what they are for they are manifestations of God that come into being in the eternal flux through the intimate union of thought and extension.

Man, too, with all his greatness and littleness, strength and weakness, with his mind soaring heavenward, and his body subject to the necessity of self-preservation, is nothing else than a manifestation (modus) of God. Individual after individual, generation after generation, comes and goes, and disappears like a drop in an eternal ocean, but man's peculiar nature, the laws in accordance with which he moves physically and spiritually in this particular union of mind and space reflect the divine presence. The human mind, or, more correctly, the sum of the various thoughts, feelings and views of all human beings, constitutes the eternal reason of the Divine Being. But man possesses as little freedom as all other things, as the stone that rolls down from the mountain, but follows the external and inner influences that press upon him. The good as well as the bad man, he who suffers martyrdom for a noble cause as well as the monster and murderer, each has to act as he does in accordance with stern necessity. To blame God for having been created with a weak nature or a deranged mind were as unreasonable as for the circle to complain of not possessing the nature and the properties of a sphere.

Man's subjection is due mostly to his passions. Love, hate, anger, ambition, greed, make of him a slave to the external world. These passions spring from the confused thoughts of the soul. The more penetration the soul possesses in comprehending the coherence of the universe, the sequence of cause and effect, and the necessity of phenomena, the greater its ability to free itself from the painful passions and to turn grief into joy. Through deeper insight, man, if guided by reason, may acquire fortitude and feel a still greater love of God, that is, to the eternal coherence. This produces magnanimity, on the one hand, the desire to be of service to others and to gain their love by gentleness and benevolence; and, on the other hand, satisfaction, joy and happiness. The man endowed with the highest knowledge lives in God and God in him. Knowledge is virtue, just as ignorance is vice to some extent. The highest virtue, according to Spinoza's system, is self-renunciation through knowledge, to come in as little contact as possible with the crushing wheels of forces, to avoid them when possible or to submit to them when they throw the individual down in their mad whirl. Thus, man, like the eternal substance, has no goal whatever. Spinoza's ethics are just as barren as his political theory. In this, like in that, he regards only submission as rational. According to his theory, there is no progress in the course of the ages, but an eternal, tedious repetition of the same phenomena of thought and extension; an eternal stand-still of humanity.

With such a conception of God and of the helplessness of man's moral actions, it is not strange that Judaism found no favor in Spinoza's eyes. The principles of Judaism were surely diametrically opposed to such teachings. On the whole, Spinoza lacked the perception of historic events which are even more wonderful than natural phenomena, and he could therefore ascribe no special importance to Judaism. He misjudged it still more as a result of his animosity against the rabbinate of Amsterdam, that excluded him from the community, an animosity that he transferred to all Jewry and Judaism.

Spinoza regarded Christianity as far superior to Judaism. Because he saw the latter through the spectacles of resentment, he found defects and inconsistencies everywhere; the former, on the other hand, he treated with favor and overlooked its shortcomings. Despite his passion for truth, Spinoza therefore came to many false and perverted conclusions with regard to the development of Judaism. In order to disparage Judaism, Spinoza declared that the Scriptures contained many slips of the pen, interpolations and misstatements, and that they, including the Torah, were not written by the authors to whom they are ascribed. It was possibly Ezra who collected and arranged them. The genuine writings of Moses and even the Decalog in its original form, are no longer in existence. Moses, the prophets, and all the higher personalities of the Bible, had, on the whole, only a confused conception of God and nature; they are not philosophers, and did not make use of the natural light of reason. Jesus, on the other hand, was far superior to them; He possessed a clear reason and taught not one nation but all humanity on rational grounds. The apostles, too, were superior to the prophets because they introduced a natural course of instruction in their religious teaching. Only his bitterness could have led Spinoza to disparage the spiritual possession of Jewry and to extol Christianity so much.

Spinoza could have proved extremely dangerous to the existence of Judaism, since he armed his opponents with the weapons of syllogisms to combat it more effectively, and since he conceded that every state and every government possessed the right to interdict it and to force its adherents to adopt the religion of the state to which they owed obedience. According to Spinoza's view, the inquisition was doubly justified in burning the Maranos, because citizens have no right to resist the state religion, and because it was folly to believe in Judaism and to suffer martyrdom for it in addition. But Spinoza possessed one characteristic that stood Judaism in good stead. "To be peaceable and quiet," was his ideal of life. He declined a chair of philosophy in the University of Heidelberg, offered him (the

"Protestant Jew," as he was still called) on very favorable conditions by the palsgrave Charles Louis, the most enlightened German prince of that period. He almost denied the authorship of the "Tractatus theologico-politicus," to escape anxiety.

The appearance of this book (1670) naturally excited unusual attention. The relation between religion and philosophy and politics had never before been discussed in so keen, decided and telling a manner, and no such condemnation had ever before been pronounced upon the clergy. The clergy of all denominations were extraordinarily aroused against this "godless" book that disparaged belief in revelation. Spinoza's influential friends were powerless to protect it; by a decree of the States-General the book was condemned and its sale prohibited; only, however, to be read with all the greater avidity. Since that time, however, Spinoza hesitated still more to publish his other writings, and particularly his original philosophical system.

It was due partly to this egotistic unselfishness of Spinoza's character that the mighty attack upon Judaism produced no great commotion in the Jewish world. At the very time when Spinoza threw down the gauntlet to Judaism, there was an abundance of culture and knowledge in the Jewish-Portuguese circle, such as was never found before or since. In the Amsterdam community and its colonies there prevailed an extraordinary intellectual activity and productiveness. The standard-bearers of this movement were, for the most part, educated Maranos who had fled from the Spanish and Portuguese inquisitorial tribunals in order to be able to return to their ancestral faith in free Holland. Among them there were thinkers, physicians, mathematicians, philologists, poets and also poetesses. Some of these Maranos experienced strange vicissitudes. Fray Vicente de Rocamora, a monk of Valencia (1601-1684), had risen to the position of father-confessor to the Infante Maria, who later became empress of Germany and a persecutor of the Jews. One day the Infante's confessor fled from Spain (1643), reached Amsterdam, changed his name to Isaac de Rocamora, studied medicine at forty, married, and became the head of Jewish benevolent institutions. This whilom monk and later communal leader wrote successful verses in Spanish and Latin.

Enrique Enriquez de Paz of Segovia (b. about 1600, died after 1660), the Jewish Calderon, had a different career. He entered the military profession as a youth, and served with such distinction that he was awarded the order of St. Michael (San Miguel), and became a captain. While wielding the sword, he wielded also the pen with which he delineated comic characters and situations. Enrique de Paz, or Antonio Enriquez de Gomez, as he was called as a poet, wrote more than twenty-two comedies, some of which were presented on the stage of Madrid, were regarded as the work of Calderon, and received with applause. But neither Mars nor the Muses could protect him against the inquisition, and he escaped its clutches only by flight. For some time he sojourned in France, and while there he sang in honor of Louis XIV, the queen of France, the mighty Cardinal Richelieu and other courtiers. He lamented in elegies his untoward fate and the loss of his native land, which he loved like a son, though she treated him like a stepchild. Though blessed with wealth, he felt unhappy, far away from the blue mountains and the mild climate of Spain. In France he passed as a disguised Christian, though he betrayed his sympathy with Judaism by an elegy on the martyr death of Lope de Vera y Alarcon. He finally settled in Amsterdam, the asylum of the

Maranos, and embraced Judaism, while he was burned in effigy on the auto-da-fé in Seville (1660). In addition to his numerous secular poems, Enriquez Gomez wrote a heroic poem, "Samson the Nazarite" (Samson Nazareno), which breathes the Jewish national spirit, and by which he sought to emulate the epic (The Maccabeans) of the older Spanish poet, Miguel Sylveyra, likewise of Jewish descent, whom he admired and whose fame he envied. Into the mouth of the blind hero, who wishes to avenge himself on the Philistines with his own death, the poet puts his own sentiments:

"For thy sacred Law and faith I die,
I die for thy chosen nation."

The two Pensos, father and son, the one rich in worldly goods and benevolence, the other in poetic endowments, present another side of the Marano activities of this period. Both escaped from the fury of the inquisition, and after much wandering settled in Amsterdam as Jews. The son (Felice) Joseph Penso, also called de la Vega (born about 1650, died 1703), a wealthy merchant, dedicated his leisure to poetry; and at seventeen boldly undertook to create a Hebrew drama. Since Emanuel Romi wrote his witty tales, the Hebrew muse was silent for various reasons. Even the great poets, Gebirol and Judah Halevi, cultivated only lyric and didactic poetry, and never even thought of the drama. Joseph Penso, reared in the poetic atmosphere of Spain that reëchoed with the sonorous verses of Lope de Vega and Calderon, tried his hand at a drama which he named "Prisoners of Hope" (Asire ha-Tikwah), and introduced the European versification into Hebrew. Penso wrote also a great deal of Spanish verse, occasional poems, and ethical reflections. His tales under the name of "Dangerous Journeys" were very popular.

There were so many mediocre poets in Amsterdam at this time that one of their number, Manuel de Belmonte (Isaac Nuñes), the Spanish resident in the netherlands who was named a count-palatine, organized a poetic academy where authors were to recite their poetic creations and prizes were to be awarded. The judges in these contests were the former father-confessor de Rocamora and another Marano, Isaac Gomez de Sosa, who wrote Latin verse with great facility. Writers of Portuguese and Latin verse were Nicholas de Oliver y Fullana, a colonel in the Spanish army who had been knighted then fled from Spain and entered the service of Holland as cartographer and cosmographer, and Joseph Szemach Arias, likewise a military officer of high rank, who translated into Spanish Josephus' "Against Apion" that refuted the ancient anti-Jewish prejudices and fabrications. Of the Jewish-Marano poetesses only one is mentioned: the pretty and clever Isabel Correa (Rebecca), who made a garland of various poems and translated into fine Spanish verse Guarini's popular Italian drama, "Pastor Fido" (The Faithful Shepherd).

An entirely different type was the Marano Thomas de Pinedo (1614-79), who received his education in a Jesuit college in Madrid. He was more familiar with classic antiquity than with Jewish literature, and devoted himself to the study of ancient geography, a branch of science entirely neglected in Spain. He, too, was driven by the inquisition from Spain and barely escaped with his life. The philologist de Pinedo spent the last years of his life in Amsterdam, where he embraced Judaism and where he published his comprehensive work (1678).

To this educated circle of Spinoza's contemporaries belong also David Coen de Lara (b. about 1610, d. 1674) and Dionys (Benjamin) Musaphia, who lived now in Hamburg, now in Amsterdam, and who were philologists and not much more. By their knowledge of Latin and Greek they elucidated the Talmudic vocabulary and corrected many errors that had formerly crept in. David de Lara was also a preacher and a writer on ethics. He associated too much with the Hamburg preacher, Esdras Edzardus, who was bent upon the conversion of the Jews, and the latter spread the false report that Lara was inclined toward Christianity before his death. Dionys (Benjamin) Musaphia (b. about 1616, d. in Amsterdam 1675) was a physician and naturalist, was in the service of the Danish king Christian IV until the king's death, was familiar with philosophy, and permitted himself to doubt some of the statements of the Talmud and of the Bible. He was, nevertheless, appointed one of the rabbis of Amsterdam in his old age.

The most important personality of this entire circle was Balthasar Orobio de Castro (b. about 1629, d. 1687). A son of Marano parents who still retained enough of Judaism to fast on the Day of Atonement, he was reared in a semi-Jewish atmosphere. Endowed with a keen intellect, he studied ancient and modern philosophy, as it was taught in the Spanish schools, and became a teacher of metaphysics in the University of Salamanca. At a more mature age, he devoted himself to medicine, and became a very successful physician. He gained a reputation in Seville, became the private physician of a duke of Medina-Celi, and of a family that enjoyed influence at court, and acquired wealth. He had married and was the head of a happy family when he was seized by the inquisition on the charge of Judaizing, was imprisoned in a gloomy dungeon for three years, then tortured to wring a confession from him, and finally condemned to wear the penitential garb (San Benito) for two years, and was banished from Spain. He went to Toulouse, where he became professor of medicine in the university. But though he was highly respected in his new position, he could not long endure the hypocrisy which he was compelled to practice, gave up his position, proceeded to Amsterdam, and embraced Judaism openly (about 1666). No wonder that he became a bitter antagonist of Christianity. He attacked it so vigorously that one of the Dutch theologians (von Limborch) felt urged upon to defend it against Orobio's attacks.

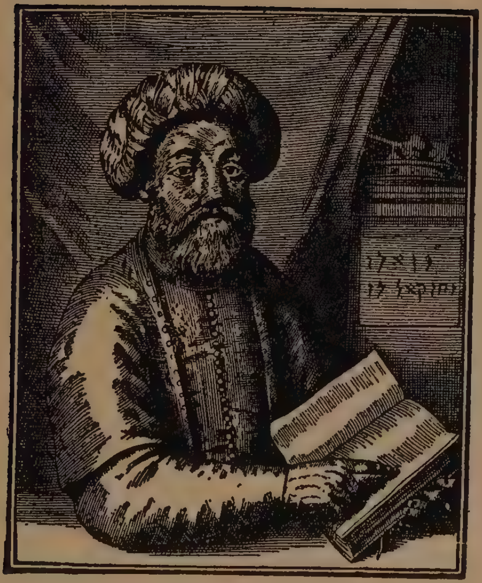
All these educated youths and men knew of Spinoza's hostile attitude to Judaism, and undoubtedly read his theological-political tractate. But the mighty blows he aimed at Judaism did not shake their convictions, after all. At first Orobio de Castro did not consider it worth while to refute Spinoza's attacks upon Judaism. But when he discovered later on that they were not harmless after all, inasmuch as sciolists might be misled by them into atheism and into the immorality based upon it, he wrote a refutation of Spinoza's views upon Judaism.

Without suspecting it, Spinoza had a confederate in an Oriental antipode who labored more persistently for the dissolution of Judaism and who set nearly all Jewry in a frenzy of excitement. This antipode and ally had more admirers than the philosopher of Amsterdam, was for a considerable time the idol of all Jewry, and has to this day secret adherents who form a sect of their own. This man was Sabbathai Zebi (b. 9th of Ab, 1626, d. 1676) of Smyrna in Asia Minor, of Jewish-Spanish descent, the originator of a new Messianic madness. He was by no means an extraordinary personality;

the adherence which he gained while still a youth was due not to his capacious mind, but to the cabalistic craze and his external appearance. He was tall, well formed, had fine black hair and beard, and a pleasant voice that captivated by his speaking and still more by his singing. But his mind was clouded by fantasy, and was inclined to the fanciful and the unusual. From earliest youth, Sabbathai Zebi avoided the society and the play of children of his own age, sought solitary places, and never indulged in the pastimes that are so attractive to youth. Of the Talmud he knew but little, but he was all the more attracted by the jumble of the cabala. He possessed one trait that distinguished him from his fellows: women had no attraction for him whatsoever. In accordance with custom, he was married at an early age, but he avoided his young and pretty wife so stubbornly that she demanded a divorce, which he readily gave her. The same thing happened later when he married a second time. This aversion to marriage, so rare in the passionate Orient, his assiduous occupation with the cabala, and his ascetic manner of life excited attention. Disciples gathered about him, and, at the age of twenty, he was already the master of a small circle. This proved the first impetus to his haughty self-confidence. Another circumstance augmented this self-confidence of his: upon the accession of Sultan Ibrahim, a fierce war broke out between Turkey and Venice, in consequence of which the Levantine trade was diverted from Constantinople to Smyrna. This hitherto insignificant city thereby achieved a greater importance. Sabbathai's father, Mordecai Zebi of Morea in Greece, hitherto a poor man, became the agent in Smyrna for an English firm, executed their commissions, enjoyed the confidence of his principals, and prospered. This increasing prosperity the infatuated father ascribed to the virtues of his cabalistic son, whom he regarded as a young saint. In the house of his English principal, Mordecai Zebi often heard the near approach of the millennium spoken of. Christian visionaries designated the year 1666 as the mystic Messianic year alluded to in the Revelation of John, which was to witness the glorious return of the Jews to Jerusalem and their conversion to Christianity. These expectations which he heard in the English mercantile establishment Mordecai Zebi reported to the members of his family, and none of them listened with profounder attention than Sabbathai. What if he himself were destined to bring about the era of redemption? And who could be more worthy of such a mission than a cabalist who is initiated in all the mysteries of the cabala?

This intense Messianic expectation was the very pivot around which the more recent Lurian cabala revolved; and this Lurian cabala so beclouded the confused mind of this Smyrna youth that he thought it easy to accomplish the spiritual redemption, upon which the corporeal must follow at once. Sabbathai Zebi was not the first humbly presumptuous visionary who believed that the natural order of things could be upset by mystic vagaries and who partly succeeded in doing so. The mendacious Zohar had indicated that the era of redemption would begin in the year 5408 (1648). In that very year Sabbathai announced himself as a Messianic redeemer to his youthful disciples by boldly presuming to pronounce the tetragrammaton (JHWH), although in violation of the rigid interdict of the Talmud and of ancient custom. The rabbinate excommunicated him for this impudence; this gave rise to friction in the community, with the result that Sabbathai and his followers were driven out of Smyrna (1651). This seemed to have smothered the Messianic fire upon its first appearance; but it smoldered beneath the ashes and broke forth in lurid, consuming flames hardly fifteen years later. The persecution to which he was subjected not only failed to dismay him, but, on the contrary, filled him with a sense of his own dignity for that very reason. The Christian conception of a suffering Messiah had long ago taken root in Judaism also, so that the belief was general among the Jews that the Messiah's humiliation would lead to his exaltation and transfiguration. Sabbathai believed in himself, and his disciples, including Moses Pinheiro, a more mature man, shared this faith implicitly. Had this alleged Messiah been compelled to depend on charity for his maintenance, his illusion would not have survived long. But he was provided with ample funds by his family, and was thus in a position to maintain his independence and his supposititious dignity, and even to gain new followers. In Constantinople, the most populous Jewish community which contained many pure and impure elements, any one could find confederates for his schemes and adventures.

In Constantinople he made the acquaintance of Abraham Yachini, a preacher, who confirmed him in his delusion. Yachini was a poverty-stricken, cunning fellow. Delighting in mystification, he laid before Sabbathai a mystic manuscript, an apocryphal scroll in ancient characters, that presumably testified to Sabbathai's Messiahship long before his coming. The manuscript read: "I, Abraham, was shut in in a cave forty years, and was astonished that the era of wonders had not yet come, when I heard a voice saying: 'A son will be born in the year 5386 (1626) and will be named Sabbathai. He will humble the great dragon; he is the true Messiah, and will wage war without weapons.'" This scroll which the young visionary himself seems



Sabbathai Zebi

to have regarded as a genuine revelation, became later a source of a great deal of imposture. Meanwhile Sabbathai removed to Salonica, which seemed to him better adapted for cabalistic vagaries than the capital. Here he actually gained many adherents, proceeded with greater boldness and performed one of those tricks which he used to employ later on to excite the imagination of the cabalists. He celebrated his mystic marriage with the Torah which, interpreted cabalistically, meant that the Torah, God's daughter, became inseparably united with the Messiah, God's son, or that he, Sabbathai, became the incarnate Torah and could therefore replace it. This scene scandalized the community, and the thoughtful rabbis of Salonica banished him from the city. After wandering about in Greece, he came to Cairo. In this city a chance to realize his dreams presented itself. In the Egyptian capital there lived a Jew named Raphael Joseph Chelebi (of Aleppo), who was a master of the mint and a tax-farmer, and bore the title of distinction Saraf-Bashi. Raphael was a man of great wealth and generosity, but was exceedingly credulous, placed implicit faith in mysticism, and was given to an ascetic life. He maintained fifty Talmudic scholars and cabalists at his own expense. While he rode in state and appeared in costly garments, he wore sack-cloth next to his body, fasted much, performed ablutions, and frequently had himself flagellated at night. Samuel Vital, a son of the cabalistic blusterer Hayim Vital Calabrese, conducted his constant penance in accordance with the Lurian cabalistic prescriptions. Sabbathai Zebi formed the acquaintance of these cabalists, and gained their confidence all the more readily since he was independent and asked nothing of them. The apocalyptic Messianic year 1666 was drawing nearer and nearer, and it behooved him to prove his Messiahship.

Sabbathai proceeded to Jerusalem, in the delusion that, upon the sacred soil, a miracle would occur that would attest to his Messiahship. The Jerusalem community was then very poor and wretched in every respect. In addition to the annoyances and the extortions of the Turkish officials, the contributions from the European communities were discontinued in consequence of the continual massacres of the Jews of Poland (1648-56). As a result, the best people emigrated; and the leadership of the community fell into the hands of fanatic cabalists, disciples of Luria and Vital, or even into those of an irresponsible clique.

The miracle which Sabbathai Zebi expected to occur in his behalf in the Holy City was already awaiting him in the credulity and the miracle mania of that community that, like savages of the lowest degree, was inclined to accept the most absurd and ridiculous thing as a divine revelation. Sabbathai Zebi kept quiet at first, and gave no offence. He followed the prescriptions of the Lurian cabala, imposed the severest mortifications upon himself, and visited often the graves of pious men in order to attract their spirits to himself. By these means and through his melodious voice, he gradually gained a circle of adherents who believed in him blindly. Some of his practices were rather unusual. He used to sing in Spanish offensive love songs with a mystic meaning about the beautiful Princess Meliselde with her coral lips and her milk-white body as she emerges from her bath.

An incident happened that proved favorable to his eccentric schemes. The community of Jerusalem was subjected to another extortion on the part of the Turkish officials that often involved torture and death, and the only hope of the impoverished members was in the generosity of Raphael Chelebi of Cairo. Sabbathai Zebi was generally regarded as the most suitable man for this mission, and he accepted the task all the more readily because it would afford him an opportunity to play the part of saviour of the Holy City. When he arrived in Cairo he received from Chelebi at once the amount necessary to relieve the Jerusalem community; and, in addition, an extraordinary opportunity was afforded him to realize his Messianic dreams.

During Chmielnicki's massacres of the Polish Jews, a six-year-old orphaned Jewish girl was found by Christians and taken to a nunnery. Her parents were dead, the community was scattered, and no one cared for the forsaken child; the nuns therefore looked upon this foundling as a soul sent to them, and gave her a Christian and conventual training. However, the impressions made upon the orphan in her parents' home were so vivid that Christianity did not appeal to her. But her conventual environment awakened fantastic dreams in her soul; she developed into a beautiful maiden and yearned to escape from the convent. One day, Jews who had meanwhile returned to that place, found her in the Jewish cemetery, clad only in a shirt. The astonished Jews questioned her, and received the reply that she was of Jewish descent, had been reared in a convent, and that during the previous night the spirit of her father took hold of her and carried her to the cemetery. To prove her last statement, she showed the women nail marks on her body. It seems that while in the convent she had acquired the art of producing scars on her body. The Jews helped her to reach Amsterdam, and there she found her brother. Naturally eccentric and still more excited by her vicissitudes, she constantly repeated the assertion that she was destined to become the wife of the Messiah who was to make his appearance in the near future. Under the name of Sarah she came to Leghorn. In that city, as attested to by trustworthy witnesses, she made an indecent use of her beauty, but still persisted in her fixed idea that she was to become the bride of the Messiah. The romantic story of this girl excited some attention among the Jews, and reached Cairo. Sabbathai Zebi, who heard of it, pretended that he, too, was told in a dream that a Jewish-Polish girl was designated as his wife through the affinity of their souls, sent a messenger to Leghorn, and had Sarah brought to Cairo.

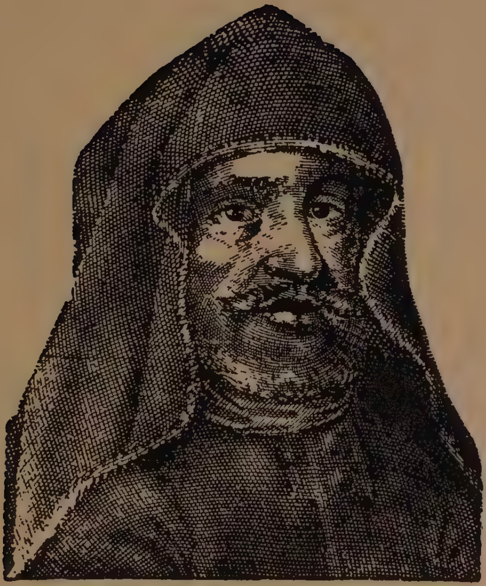
Sarah made a strong impression upon Sabbathai and his followers by her fantastic, loose conduct and by her beauty. Sabbathai himself became convinced thereby of his Messiahship. He and his friends were not unaware of the indecent life this Polish adventuress had led; but this, too, was only another indication of his Messiahship. It was decreed that, like the prophet Hosea, he was to marry an unchaste woman. No one was happier than Chelebi at the thought that his house was found worthy to witness the celebration of the nuptials of the Messiah and his bride. He placed his entire fortune at the disposal of Sabbathai Zebi, and became his first influential adherent. The devoted loyalty of so eminent and influential a man gained Sabbathai many other adherents; and truly was it said of him then that he came to Egypt as a messenger and returned as Messiah. Sarah, the beautiful Messianic bride, also made many converts. She gave a romantic, dissolute character to the doings of the Messiah of Smyrna; and her beauty and her loose conduct attracted youths and men who otherwise had little sympathy for the mystic Messiahship. Sabbathai returned to Palestine with a larger retinue than he had with him on his departure, and brought with him two talismans that were more effective than cabalistic charms: Sarah's alluring beauty and Chelebi's gold. In Gaza he found a third confederate who made his path still more smooth.

Nathan Benjamin Levi (1644-1680) was the son of a Jerusalem messenger who traveled through Northern Africa, Holland and Poland. Thus left to shift for himself, he received the perverted training that prevailed in his day, obtained a superficial knowledge of the Talmud, but acquired skill in the pompous but inane rabbinic style of that period that hid a paucity of thought beneath high-sounding phrases. Suddenly lifted from poverty to opulence by his marriage to the one-eyed daughter of a wealthy man of Gaza, he lost what little stability of character he ever possessed. When Sabbathai, on his return from Cairo, came to Gaza, Nathan Ghazati (of Gaza) came in close contact with him. Sabbathai probably saw to it that Abraham Yachini's forged scroll fell into his hands. Nathan became henceforth his most zealous adherent. Whether he was moved by conviction or by the ambition to play a prominent part, can no longer be discerned in this story where naive faith, self-deception and deliberate imposture are so closely linked together.

From the time when the twenty-year-old Nathan Ghazati formed the acquaintance of the forty-year-old Sabbathai, prophetic revelation came in rapid succession. The former announced himself all at once the risen Elijah who was to clear the way for the Messiah, and prophesied that within a year and a few months the Messiah would appear in all his glory, would take the sultan captive without arms, merely by the singing of songs, and would establish the dominion of Israel over all the nations of the earth. The year 1666 was to be the Messianic year. This revelation the alleged prophet of

Gaza published broadcast and added other odd fancies. The more exaggerated and extravagant these revelations were the more credence they found. A veritable frenzy seized upon nearly all the Jews of Jerusalem and of the neighboring communities. Here was a prophet who but recently was a timid youth, and there was the Messiah in person. Who dared doubt that the blessed era was at hand? Those who doubted were laughed to scorn. Sabbathai Zebi realized, meanwhile, that Jerusalem was not the best place for his activity because the rabbis placed obstacles in his path, but hoped for greater success in his native city, which had become an important meeting place for Europeans and Asiatics. His wealthy brothers prepared a welcome for him by distributing money among the poor of Smyrna, and Nathan's enthusiastic prophetic letters had set the imagination of the Smyrna Jews on fire. Before leaving Jerusalem Sabbathai took care to dispatch abroad energetic messengers, who were either dreamers or charlatans, as prophets of his Messianic appearance, to stir the hearts and to bruit his name abroad. Sabbathai Raphael, a beggar and impostor of Morea, shouted the Messiah's greatness from the housetops, and Matathias Bloch, a German cabalist, did likewise in all naivete.

So it happened that when Sabbathai Zebi left Jerusalem (voluntarily, as he claimed, or driven out, as others asserted), he was received by the great Asiatic community of Aleppo like a conquering hero. Still greater was the homage paid him in Smyrna (Autumn, 1665). The ban formerly pronounced against him was entirely forgotten. Sabbathai was accompanied by a Jerusalemite, Samuel Primo, who became his secretary and one of his most zealous recruiting officers. Samuel Primo possessed the art of lending an air of official importance to trifling things, and of attaching



Nathan Gazati

to the Messianic humbug a universal significance by means of a flowery style. In the midst of the ever-increasing riotousness, he alone remained cool, and guided the crazy enthusiast with deliberation. Sabbathai had enough tact not to proclaim himself openly as the Messiah immediately upon his return to Smyrna; he rather ordered his followers not to speak of it until his time should have come. But this restraint, together with other circumstances, the frenzied letters of Nathan, the arrival of several Jerusalemites, who brought him the homage of the Holy City (without authority, of course), the penance which some imposed upon themselves in order to atone for their sins and to be worthy of the Messianic era—all these excited the multitude, and they could hardly wait for the day when he was to reveal himself. Sabbathai Zebi finally proclaimed himself publicly in the synagog (Sept. 10, 1665) as the expected Messiah, amidst the blowing of horns, and the multitude shouted: "Long live our king, our Messiah!" The saying that the prophet is without honor in his own city did not hold true this time. The frenzy of the Jews of Smyrna knew no bounds. Every possible token of reverence and devotion was given him. The thought that the long hoped-for Messiah had finally arrived, and in their own community, intoxicated everybody, great and small. Women, girls and children fell into ecstasies, and acclaimed Sabbathai Zebi the true redeemer in the language of the Zohar. The prophecy that at the end of time God would pour his spirit upon flesh (Joel 3:1) seemed to have come into fulfillment. Everybody made preparations for immediate departure, for the return to the Holy Land. Merchants neglected their business, and thought only of the approaching Messianic kingdom. The bewilderment that prevailed is indicated by the manner in which the faithful of Smyrna desired to prepare themselves for participation in the coming glory. On the one hand, some of them subjected themselves to incredible mortification, fasted several days in succession, denied themselves sleep for nights to obliterate their sins and the effects thereof by means of cabalistic prayer recited at midnight, performed ablutions even in biting cold, or rolled in snow. Some of them buried themselves in the ground up to the neck and remained in this living grave until their bodies became numb with cold and dampness. Others, on the other hand, abandoned themselves to unbridled jubilation, and indulged in all manner of festivities in honor of the Messiah whenever he passed through the streets, singing psalms: "The right hand of the Lord is exalted; the right hand of the Lord is valiant;" or, whenever he preached in the synagog and proved his Messiahship by cabalistic interpretations. Every word he uttered was regarded as the word of God, repeated a thousandfold, discussed and expounded, and every act of his was looked upon as a miracle, was circulated and believed in. The madness went so far that the faithful married their children of twelve and under, seven hundred such couples, in order, in accordance with the cabalistic notion, to hasten the entrance into bodies of the unborn souls still left and thereby to remove the last obstacle to the coming of the Messianic era. His wife Sarah exerted an influence upon the male population by her not entirely chaste behavior. The barriers of chastity which are more rigid among the Oriental Jews were broken. Men and women danced together as if delirious, in Messianic rapture, and in the mystic transport some excesses are said to have been committed. The scrupulous and the critical held their peace; everyone was drawn into this madness as into a whirlpool, and unbelievers were made harmless. Rabbi Aaron de la

Papa, an aged worthy man, who had at first loudly protested against this Messianic craze and pronounced the ban against its originator, was, together with other rabbis, publicly villified by Sabbathai in a sermon, removed from office, and forced to leave Smyrna. Sabbathai thus could sway the Jewish population at will for good or for evil. In this mood, which continued for several months, the Jews of Smyrna had little fear of their tyrants, the Turkish cadis, who connived at these doings by virtue of heavy bribes.

These occurrences in Smyrna created the greatest sensation in far and near Jewish communities. Those of Asia Minor, in the neighborhood of Smyrna, were drawn into the frenzy. Samuel Primo, Sabbathai's private secretary, saw to it that the distant communities received the tidings and the full import of the revealed Messiah. Nathan Ghazati and Matathias Bloch filled their auditors with reports of the most astounding miracles performed by the new redeemer. But Christians, too, spread the news. The residents, the secretaries of the English and Dutch commercial firms, and the evangelistic clergymen who were in Smyrna reported the extraordinary things that occurred in Smyrna, scorned indeed the folly of the Jews, but could not refrain from admitting a secret belief in Sabbathai Zebi. Did they not see with their own eyes the ecstasies and the utterances of prophets and prophetesses concerning Sabbathai Zebi, the true redeemer? In the important exchanges of Europe Sabbathai Zebi was discussed as a remarkable phenomenon, and news from Smyrna or Constantinople was awaited with anxiety. The Jews of Europe were at first as though stupefied by this sudden news; gradually, however, they too succumbed to the Messianic spell, and then followed penance, almsgiving and prophetic ecstasies here and there. Not only the ignorant masses, but also almost all the rabbis and even men of culture and philosophic views succumbed to this credulity, nurtured as they were by the all-stifling cabala. There was not then a single man of importance and weight who recognized, much less disclosed, the evil source of all these phenomena, the cabala, and the Zohar. An evil time indeed. Jacob Sasportas (1608-1698), then in Hamburg, a keen and courageous man, whose word carried weight because of his Talmudic learning, did indeed combat passionately this Messianic frenzy. Tirelessly he addressed letter after letter to the communities and leaders of Europe, Asia and Africa, exposing the insolent impostors and warning against the sad consequences. But he, too, was entangled in the meshes of the cabala, and with that as a basis those who believed all of it were more consistent than those who believed only half of it. Heinrich Oldenburg, a prominent German scholar, wrote to his friend Spinoza from London (Dec., 1665): "Everyone here speaks of the report of the return of Israel, scattered for two thousand years, to his fatherland. Some few believe it, but many desire it. Should this report prove true, it would bring about a revolution in everything." Spinoza, likewise, grasped the possibility that, on this occasion, and with the change to be wrought in human affairs, the Jews would reëstablish their kingdom, and again be chosen by God. In Amsterdam and in London the number of believers, both among the Portuguese and the Germans, grew day by day. Here, too, this belief found expression either in rejoicing and dancing in the synagogs or in gloomy, monkish penances. The printing presses could not supply the demand of the faithful for special prayer books in Hebrew, Portuguese and Spanish that contained penitential prayers and litanies by the recital of which one might hope to be found worthy of participation in the Messianic kingdom. Some Sabbathaian prayer books contained Sabbathai's picture alongside of that of King David, emblems of his dominion and selected biblical texts.

The Jews of Hamburg acted even more absurdly because they desired to annoy the intolerant Christians who persisted in humiliating them and who tried to employ force to compel the Jews to listen to Christian sermons. Anyone who entered the synagog and witnessed the hopping, jumping and dancing of serious, dignified men with the scroll of the Torah in their arms, must have regarded them as mad. Manoel Texeira (b. ab. 1630, d. ab. 1695), the resident and confidential adviser of Queen Christina of Sweden, whose house was the rendezvous of the most prominent personages who played cards with him for high stakes, this Jewish cavalier participated in those foolish dances. The elderly learned and popular physician, Bendito de Castro, the private physician of Queen Christina of Sweden during her sojourn in Hamburg, acted likewise. The young community of London, established under Charles II, was similarly affected. There the frenzy was augmented by the Christian visionaries of the Fifth Kingdom. Strange reports were circulated. One report had it in Northern Scotland that a ship appeared with silken sails and ropes, handled by Hebrew-speaking sailors. The flag on the mast bore the legend: "The Twelve Tribes of Israel." The faithful in London made high wagers, after the English fasion, that Sabbathai Zebi would be anointed king of Jerusalem within two years, and gave their notes to that effect. And wherever Jews lived there came the news of the cabalistic Messiah of Smyrna and produced the same effect. The small community of Avignon, which was treated with no particular gentleness by the papal officials, made preparations to remove in the spring to the Kingdom of Judah.

Even if Sabbathai Zebi had not hitherto believed in himself and in his dignity, this homage of almost the entire Jewry must have stirred such faith in himself. Reports, messengers and deputations arrived daily that greeted him in the most flattering terms as King of the Jews, that placed their lives and possessions at his disposal, and overwhelmed him with gifts. Had Sabbathai Zebi possessed a strong will and a definite aim, he could have accomplished something with this sincere enthusiasm and this self-sacrificing devotion of his followers. Sabbathai Zebi, however, found gratification enough in the mere incense of flattery; he had no great plan in his mind, or, rather, he lived in the delusion that the great expectations would be realized by some miracle. But Samuel Primo and his confidants did have a definite aim: to undermine Judaism or to destroy it entirely. The basic thought of the Zohar, the Bible of the cabalists, was that, in the Messianic Era, the ritual laws of Judaism would lose their importance. This era had now come, in the opinion of the Sabbathaists, the ritual code (Shulhan Aruch) could therefore be set aside. On the whole, there prevailed in this circle a contempt for the Talmud and the Talmudic method of instruction. The Sabbathaist mystics endeavored to loosen loop by loop the thick network of Talmudic and rabbinic Judaism. They even created a new deity, and substituted a man-god for the God of Israel. The cabalists had, on the one hand, so interpreted away the conception of God that it dissolved into nothingness, and, on the other hand, so exalted the Messiah as to be almost deified. They set up a blasphemous theosophy to the effect that the deity is threefold, in three persons: the Ancient of Days, the Holy King, and a female person (Shechinah).

The Holy King, the Messiah, is the true God, the redeemer of the world, the God of Israel; all prayers must be addressed to him alone. The Ancient of Days, on the other hand, had withdrawn and appointed Sabbathai as his representative, as indicated in a biblical verse (Canticles, 2:9): "My beloved (God) is like unto Zebi." Samuel Primo, who issued the letters and the edicts in the name of the Messiah King, often signed them: "I, the Lord your God, Sabbathai Zebi." The first breach they made in traditional Judaism was the conversion of a fast day (Tenth of Tebet) into a day of rejoicing. Samuel Primo addressed a letter to all Jewry in a semi-official form: "The only and first-born son of God, Sabbathai Zebi, Messiah and redeemer of the people of Israel, to all the sons of Israel, peace! Now that you have been found worthy to witness the great day and the fulfillment of God's word as foretold by the prophets, your lamentations and sorrow can be turned into joy and your fasts into days of gladness. Rejoice with music and song, and change the day, usually spent in grief and sorrow, into a day of jubilation, because I have come." The very punctilious were rather perplexed at this first innovation. They could conceive of the Messiah only as a rigidly pious rabbi who, whenever possible, would excogitate some new restrictions. They therefore raised their voice against the Messiah who was destroying the law. As a result, there arose in every large community a small party of "unbelievers" who were determined to guard their traditions against any attack.

Rabbinic Judaism and the cabala, closely allied hitherto, now began to wage war upon each other; the cabala showed itself at last in its true colors as an enemy of rigid Rabbinism. But this sobering revelation that the cabala was dangerous to Judaism was as yet known only to the few. The majority of the rabbis still remained loyal to the cabala, blamed the infringements of the ritual laws (Shulhan Aruch) upon Sabbathai and his accomplices, and protested. But it was too late.

But the Messiah had finally to tear himself away from his fool's paradise. It is said that the cadi had given him three days within which to set sail for Constantinople and to present himself before the highest Turkish authorities. Sabbathai Zebi, it seems, purposely delayed his journey to Constantinople until the beginning of the mystic year 1666. He was accompanied by several of his adherents, and by his secretary, Samuel Primo. Inasmuch as his ship encountered storms and weathered them, the Sabbathaists were supplied with material for marvelous tales about the Messiah silencing the waves and the storm. But on the shore of the Dardanelles Turkish soldiers awaited him, and placed him under arrest. The grand vizier, Ahmed Köprili, had been informed of the excitement among the Jews of Smyrna and of the entire Turkish empire, and he wished to put an end to it at one blow. The soldiers had received express orders to throw the alleged Messiah into chains and to bring him to the capital, and hastened therefore to meet the ship on which he had taken passage. The soldiers accordingly put Sabbathai in irons and led him to a little town near Constantinople, because the Sabbath eve was approaching. Informed by a courier of the Messiah's arrival, his adherents hastened from the capital to greet him, and on the following Sunday (February, 1666) he was brought to Constantinople under circumstances entirely different from what he and his followers had dreamed! His arrival excited attention, and there was such a throng of Jews and Turks at the pier that the police had to maintain order to enable him to disembark. An under-pasha welcomed him with a slap in the face, but Sabbathai Zebi, it is reported, had the shrewdness to hold out the other cheek too. Since he could not play the part of a triumphant Messiah, he assumed the attitude of a suffering Messiah. Led before the acting vizier, Mustafa Pasha, the first test found him wanting. Asked what his design was and why he stirred up such a turmoil among the Jews, Sabbathai is said to have replied that he was merely a Jewish chacham, come from Jerusalem to the capital to gather contributions for the poor; and that it was not his fault that the Jews were so attached to him. Mustafa thereupon ordered him lodged in a prison.

Far from being undeceived by this treatment, his adherents in Constantinople still persisted in their delusion that the tribulations which had befallen him were necessary and a preliminary to his glorification. His prophets and apostles continued to prophesy the approaching redemption. A Turkish dervish, too, filled the streets of Constantinople with prophecies of the revealed Messiah. Thousands, therefore, surged daily about Sabbathai's prison just to catch a glimpse of him. Even Turks, fascinated by his appearance and surprised by the prophesying of women and children, did him reverence. Merchants who could not collect their debts from their Jewish debtors appealed to the Messiah. Samuel Primo took pains to circulate the most fabulous reports of the reverence paid the Messiah by Turkish nobles. These reports rendered the expectations of the Jews still more intense. It was regarded as a miracle that the Turks, usually quick in executing justice, permitted him, a rebellious Jew, to live. It seems that the Turkish government did indeed entertain a certain fear of the Jewish Messiah. Turkey was on the verge of the Candian (Cretan) War that demanded all the energy of the already half-exhausted Turkish empire. To the shrewd vizier Köprili it appeared hazardous to leave Sabbathai in Constantinople, where he could easily create a commotion during his own absence from the city. He therefore ordered that Sabbathai be taken to the castle of Abydos on the Dardanelles where political prisoners used to be kept. This imprisonment was not rigid; some of his friends, his secretary Samuel Primo and his wife were permitted to remain with him. To this fortress the Sabbathaists gave the mystic name of Tower of Strength (Migdol Oz).

If Sabbathai doubted his own Messiahship for a moment, his self-confidence was restored by the indulgence shown him by the divan and by the continued and increasing loyalty of the Jews. He felt entirely like a Messiah once more. On his arrival at the fortress, on Passover eve, he slew a paschal lamb for himself and his companions and ate it with its fat, in violation of the Talmudic law. This was to indicate that the Talmudic and rabbinic law was abrogated. In the castle he established a regular court with the large sums of money with which his brothers and wealthy followers supplied him. His wife conducted herself like a queen, and fascinated the multitude with her charms. Ships carrying his adherents swarmed about the fortress, and the fare for passage increased from day to day. From all countries and continents multitudes of Jews flocked to the place of his confinement. The castellan did a flourishing business, for he charged admission to visitors. The inhabitants of the little town also prospered, because they charged a high price for lodging and food. A veritable shower of gold rained into Abydos. The impression which these facts, purposely enlarged upon and exaggerated, made upon the Jews of Europe, Asia and Africa, and the effects which they produced are indescribable. With very few exceptions, all Jewry was convinced of Sabbathai's Messiahship and the speedy redemption within two years at the utmost. In the commercial centers, such as Amsterdam, Leghorn, Hamburg, where Jews were the leaders of the wholesale trade, stagnation set in, because the merchants expected a change to occur soon. In Europe all eyes were turned upon the Amsterdam community, and the leaders of that community were ardent Sabbathaists for the most part. Every day when new letters arrived was a holiday. In Venice a quarrel broke out on a Sabbath between the Sabbathaists and their opponents, and one of the latter was nearly killed. When Sabbathai was asked how the Kofrim (unbelievers) should be dealt with, he, or Samuel Primo, replied that they might be killed summarily even on a Sabbath. The executioners of such a punishment were assured of eternal bliss. In Hamburg pious Protestants asked the preacher Esdras Edzardus, a zealous proselytizer, what to do: "We have received positive news, not alone from the Jews, but also from our Christian correspondents in Smyrna, Aleppo, Constantinople and other places in Turkey, that the Jewish Messiah performs so many miracles and that the Jews of the whole world are gathering about him. What, then, is to become of our faith and the belief in our own Messiah?" In a word, every occurrence tended to strengthen the delusion. Jacob Sasportas loudly raised his warning voice against this frenzy, but he was alone.

The fog of superstition thus thickened, and none was any longer in a position to discover the truth. Sabbathai, meanwhile, lived in a veritable regal state in the castle of the Dardanelles for three months, and was concerned only with his own deification. Prompted either by his own impulse or by the suggestion of Samuel Primo, he abrogated the fast-day of the Seventeenth of Tammuz, and ordained that the Ninth of Ab, the fast-day commemorating the destruction of Jerusalem, be no longer observed as a fast but as a day of rejoicing with food and drink, with a special service, with psalms especially selected for the occasion, and with harp and song in honor of the Messiah's birthday. It is said that he also entertained the idea of abolishing all Jewish festivals, including the Day of Atonement, and to substitute new ones. However, before he reached this point, his arrogance led him to commit a piece of folly which caused the entire Messianic house of cards to come tumbling down.

Among the many thousands of visitors from far and near, two Polish Talmudists, relatives of famous rabbis of Lemberg, made a pilgrimage to him in order to ascertain the facts and to bask in his Messianic glory. From them Sabbathai learned that there was a prophet in Poland, Nehemiah Cohen, who likewise announced the approach of the Messianic kingdom, but did not refer to Sabbathai as the Messiah. He therefore handed the envoys a laconic letter in which he promised the Jews of Poland vengeance for the Cossack massacres and which concluded with the command: "Let Nehemiah hasten to come to me." The fanciful cabalist Nehemiah did not hesitate to undertake the long journey to Turkey. When he arrived in Abydos he was admitted to an audience at once. The Polish prophet and the Smyrna Messiah did not smile at each other like two mountebanks, but argued seriously and eagerly as to whether or not the Ephraimitic Messiah, the precursor of the Davidic Messiah, had already appeared and lost his life, as it must happen according to tradition. Nehemiah was not convinced by the long disputation, and made no secret of that fact. The Sabbathaists therefore plotted secretly to remove the dangerous Pole out of the way, but Nehemiah escaped from the castle, repaired to Adrianople, turned Mohammedan, and betrayed to the Kaimakam Mustafa Sabbathai's fantastic and treasonable plans of which the government had learned nothing hitherto because it was to the castellan's interest to connive at them.

The kaimakam carried the news to Sultan Mohammed IV, and the council, to which the mufti Wanni was invited, discussed the course of action to be taken against Sabbathai Zebi. To deal summarily with the fantastic agitator appeared impracticable, since he had Turkish followers also. His martyrdom might give rise to a new sect which might occasion new disturbances. Wanni, a proselytizing high-priest, proposed to make an attempt to induce Sabbathai to accept Mohammedanism. This advice was followed, and the sultan's physician, a Jewish renegade named Didon, was selected as the go-between. All of a sudden, the alleged Messiah was seized, taken to Adrianople, and brought together with the physician who represented to him the horrible punishment that would inevitably be meted out to him if he did not appease the wrath of the sultan by accepting Islam. Did this suggestion of apostasy produce a great struggle in Sabbathai's soul? Sabbathai possessed no manly courage at all, and Judaism in its traditional form had already become nonexistent to him. He therefore followed Didon's advice. Led before the sultan, he at once threw his Jewish headgear on the ground, in token of contempt, donned a white turban and a green upper garment handed him by a servant, and thus his conversion to Islam was consummated. The sultan was much pleased at this upshot of the movement, gave Sabbathai the name of Mehmed Effendi, and appointed him his doorkeeper at a considerable monthly salary; he desired to have Sabbathai in his proximity. Sarah, likewise, turned Mohammedan, was named Fauma Kadin, and received rich gifts from the sultana. Several of his intimate followers also accepted Islam. The mufti Wanni instructed them in the Mohammedan religion. A few days after his conversion the ex-Messiah impudently wrote to his brothers in Smyrna: "God had made me an Ismaelite (Turk); he commanded, and it was done. On the ninth day of my new birth." At the same time, Rabbi Dionys Musaphia, a man of philosophic education, assembled the board of his congregation in Amsterdam for the purpose of sending a letter of homage to the Messiah in their behalf, too.

But when the news of Sabbathai's apostasy reached the communities and could no longer be denied, confidence gave way to a stupefying feeling of disappointment and shame. The supreme representative of Judaism had forsaken and betrayed it! Mohammedans and Christians pointed the finger at the credulous, deluded Jews. This, however, did not yet end the matter. Such a far-reaching movement could not pass off without leaving some trace behind it. It was the sultan's intention to exterminate all the Jews of his empire because they had entertained rebellious schemes, and to have their children under seven years of age raised in the Mohammedan faith. He was, however, dissuaded by two counsellors and by his mother, on the plea that the Jews were to be regarded as dupes. Fifty of the leading rabbis of Constantinople, Smyrna and other cities were to be executed because they had failed in their duty of inspiring the people with loyalty; and it was regarded as providential that this decision was not carried out, and that not even a fine was imposed upon the Jews. A still greater evil would have resulted from the dissensions in the communities had the unbelievers overwhelmed the former believers with scorn and contempt. But the rabbis of the Orient averted this danger by threatening with excommunication anyone who would humiliate a former Sabbathaist by word or deed.

But Sabbathai's zealous adherents, particularly in Smyrna, could not yet reconcile themselves to the thought that they had pursued a shadow. There must have been something, after all, in Sabbathai's Messiahship. The cabalists solved this riddle easily: Sabbathai did not turn Turk at all; a form that resembled him played that part, while he himself was wafted to heaven or to the ten tribes, and would soon reappear to complete the work of redemption. Just as, at the time of the rise of Christianity, mystic believers interpreted Jesus' crucifixion as a mere semblance, ardent cabalists explained Sabbathai's apostasy at this time. Others, like Samuel Primo, Jacob Faliachi and Jacob Israel Duhan, whose object it was to bring about the downfall of rabbinic Judaism through him, clung still more firmly to Sabbathai. The prophets, above all, who were exposed as liars by his conversion, found it to their interest to cling to him. During Sabbathai's triumph, Nathan Ghazati remained in Palestine to receive homage on his part. After the disillusionment he continued his mystic, bombastic letters just the same; and the over-credulous were fortified anew in their delusion. The rabbis found it necessary, therefore, to take energetic measures. Nathan Ghazati was excommunicated, and the people were admonished not to give him comfort or come within his proximity. But the rabbis were by no means able to eradicate the delusion entirely. Samuel Primo, the most zealous and possibly also the most resourceful Sabbathaist, dropped a catchword that proved more acceptable than that of the seeming conversion: "Everything had to happen as it did." By his very conversion to Islam, Sabbathai proved his Messiahship. It was a cabalistic mystery which had been foretold long ago. Just as the first redeemer, Moses, had to live for some time at Pharaoh's court, appearing as an Egyptian outwardly, the last redeemer had to become a Turk: "outwardly a renegade, but inwardly pure." This catchword proved successful; it rekindled and fanned again the flame of devotion to Sabbathai, and became the rallying cry for all Sabbathaists.

Encouraged and inspired with new hope by Nathan and by the circle that gathered about Mehmed Effendi, the number of believers grew greater than before. At first the renegade had to receive instruction in the Mohammedan faith under the guidance of the mufti Wanni, had to avoid all appearance of interest in the Jews or Judaism, and had to play the pious Turk. Gradually, however, he was given more freedom of movement and permitted to utter his cabalistic nonsense. Weary of his quiet life and eager to be in the public eye once more, he resumed his relations with the Jews, and claimed that the spirit of God had descended upon him once more and that he received new revelations. He, or one of his accomplices, circulated a mystic pamphlet addressed to the Jews in extravagant language to the effect that Sabbathai is and remains the true Messiah, that it were an easy matter for him to prove himself such, but that he plays the Mohammedan only for the purpose of converting thousands and myriads of Mohammedans to Judaism. To the sultan and the mufti he explained, on the other hand, that the advances he made to the Jews was for the sole purpose of converting them to Islam. For this reason he received permission to come in contact with Jews once more, and even to preach in the synagog of Adrianople. Thus he acted now as a Jew, now as a Mussulman. If Turkish spies were present, the Sabbathaists managed to deceive them. Some Jews became earnest converts to Islam on that occasion, and there was formed a Jewish-Turkish sect about Sabbathai Zebi. Apostasy was of such frequent occurrence that people were no longer horrified at it, and spoke casually of such and such a man "taking the turban."

As though to render confusion worse confounded and to carry this cabalistic Messianic vagary to its extreme logical conclusion, the movement received unexpectedly an adherent and defender in the person of Abraham Miguel Cardoso, a man of European education and not devoid of gifts. This man was an original character, a personification of all the vicissitudes experienced by the Portuguese Jews since their expulsion. Born in a Portuguese city of Marano parents, he studied medicine like his brother Fernando, but while the latter devoted himself seriously to the study of the science, the former idled his time in luxuriant Madrid in sweet dalliance, sang love songs under the balcony of pretty women to the accompaniment of the lute, and thought little of the cabala or Judaism. His brother, prompted by his love of Judaism, emigrated to Venice after he had gained a reputation in Spain as a writer on medicine and natural sciences, and Miguel followed him. Both brothers assumed Jewish names upon their return to the faith of their fathers. But while the older brother led a regular life, moved by moral principles and by a rational faith, his younger brother fell into dissolute habits, both of mind and conduct.

After he was initiated into the cabala, Abraham Cardoso became an enthusiastic admirer of Sabbathai, and pretended to have constant dreams and visions. The apostasy of the pseudo-Messiah did not cure him of his delusion; he remained a zealous partisan, and even justified Sabbathai's treachery as necessary to fulfill the prophecy that the

Messiah would be "counted among the sinners" (Isaiah 53:12) to the end that he may expiate and blot out the sin of idolatry of which Israel had been guilty for so long a time. The Isaianic description of the Messiah-people and its resurrection from the dead which the Christians used to apply to Jesus, Cardoso applied with as little reason to Sabbathai Zebi. In vain did his more temperate brother Isaac (Fernando) Cordoso mock at and admonish him, and ask him ironically whether he had received the gift of prophecy from the playing on the lute for the pretty girls of Madrid in which he had formerly indulged. Abraham Cardoso persisted in his folly, and endeavored to convince his brother, who thoroughly despised the cabala and astrology, by the Zohar and other cabalistic writings that Sabbathai was the true Messiah. By his zeal he gained many converts to the Messianic fraud in Africa. He had to lead an adventurous life meanwhile, utilized his vagaries as a means of livelihood for himself and family, practiced all sorts of humbuggery in Smyrna, Constantinople, the Greek Islands, and in Cairo, and encouraged the Sabbathaist mischief by his wider knowledge, fluent tongue and ready pen. Trained in Christian schools, he was by far superior to the other Sabbathaist apostles by virtue of his education, managed to lend the color of profound wisdom to the Messianic nonsense, and thereby misled those who were prejudiced in favor of Sabbathai and even such who had hitherto been opposed to him.

Encouraged by the continued loyalty of the Jews, despite his change of religion, Sabbathai persisted in playing the role of Messiah whenever he came in contact with the Jews. Under the stress of all this excitement, his feeble mind gave way entirely. At one time he blasphemed Judaism and the God of Israel in coarse epithets; at another time he joined in worship with his Jewish adherents, sang psalms, had the Torah read on the Sabbath, for which purpose he frequently chose seven virgins. After Sarah's death he married the daughter of a Talmudic scholar, Joseph Philosoph, of Salonica. Surprised once by a Turkish patrol as he was singing psalms in a conventicle of his Jewish followers in a village near Constantinople, he was banished by the grand vizier to Dulcigno, a little town in Alabnia which contained no Jews. There he died desolate and forsaken.

Spinoza, who had likewise abjured Judaism and who witnessed all these phenomena, possibly looked with the utmost contempt upon this Messianic frenzy. If he aimed at the destruction of Judaism, he should have acknowledged Sabbathai Zebi, his secretary Samuel Primo and his prophets, as his own confederates. The absurdity of the cabala brought greater discredit upon Judaism than reason and philosophy. But neither the one nor the other could turn the numerous educated Jews of Amsterdam, Hamburg, London and Bordeaux away from the religion of their fathers. At the very time when Judaism was thus attacked on two sides by enemies in its own midst, the Portuguese community of Amsterdam, increased to four thousand families, erected a magnificent synagog. The dedication thereof (Aug. 3, 1675) was celebrated with a solemnity and pomp almost surpassing that of the Temple of Jerusalem. Many songs were sung in its honor, and pompous orations were delivered in its praise. Copper-plated pictures of the synagog accompanied by appropriate verses were distributed on that occasion. Christians advanced the Jews money for the completion of the building when the latter were hard pressed for funds; and a poet, Romein de Hooghe, composed verses in honor of the synagog and the Jewish people, in Latin, Dutch and French.

Spinoza witnessed also this rejoicing of the community from which he had separated himself, and he may have smiled contemptuously at this joy of the Amsterdam Jews. But the erection of this synagog in a city that tolerated no Jews a century before, at any rate only such as were regarded as Christians for a long time, was an eloquent sign of the times and disproved some of his own theories. Shortly after, Spinoza died, or rather passed away gently as though kissed by God (Feb. 21, 1677), about five months after Sabbathai's death. He contributed involuntarily to the glorification of the people whom he had so unjustly slandered. His overpowering mentality and his strength of character will evermore be acknowledged as qualities which he owed, at least in part, to the blood that flowed in his veins.

CHAPTER VI

SHADOW AND LIGHT

(1677-1720)

The princes and peoples of Europe and Asia rendered the Jews a real service by not disturbing them during the Messianic frenzy and by affording them tranquillity to cover themselves with shame. A pause had ensued just then in the regularly recurring persecutions of the Jews which, however, was not of too long duration. The interrupted daily program of accusations, annoyances and expulsions was soon repeated. In this connection the difference between the followers of Mohammed and of Jesus is very striking. In Turkey no harm whatever befell the Jews, despite their great excitement and their national Messianic air castles. In Christendom, on the other hand, the Jews were regarded and treated as human beings only in Holland and England; in the other states they were still looked upon as outcasts, beyond justice and pity.

Spain took the lead in the expulsions once more. This unhappy land that became ever more enervated because of despotism, fanaticism and the inquisition was then governed by an unwise fanatic woman, the regent-dowager Maria Anna of Austria, who appointed her father-confessor, the German Jesuit Neidhard, inquisitor-general, and made him her prime minister. As a matter of course, no religious tolerance could be expected in this court. But some Jews were still left in a corner of northwestern Africa, in Oran, Mazaquivir, and in other cities. Among them there were many who had rendered the Spanish crown conspicuous services both in war and in peace. The families of Cansino and Sasportas, royal interpreters or dragomans for these Spanish possessions, had particularly distinguished themselves by loyalty and devotion to Spain which Philip IV, Maria Anna's husband, had acknowledged in a special communication. Nevertheless, the dowager-regent issued an order to banish the Jews from that region because she could not tolerate people of that race in her kingdom. At the urgent request of influential Jews, the governor was kind enough to grant the Jews a reprieve of eight days for the celebration of the Passover and to furnish them a testimonial that they were banished not because of crimes or treason, but solely because of the regent's intolerance (end of April, 1669). They had to dispose of their property for a song. The banished Jews settled in the district of Savoy, in Nice and Villafranca.

Like mother, like daughter. About this time a decree was issued expelling the Jews from Vienna and from the grand-duchy of Austria, and this was done at the instance of Empress Margaretha, the daughter of the Spanish regent, in conjunction with the Jesuits. Since the accession of Leopold I, who was himself a Jesuit, the disciples of Loyola exerted a supreme influence upon the schools and the pulpit, and thus on public opinion too. They incited the fanaticism of the court and people against the non-Catholic population; in Hungary against the Protestants; in France against the Huguenots; in Poland against the Dissidents. The Jews who had been permitted to settle again in Vienna half a century before could not, of course, be exempt. The jealousy of the Christian merchants and the pugnacity of the Jesuit pupils were artificially incited against them. If the dead body of a Christian happened to be found in the water, the officious Jewish enemies proceeded at once to excite suspicions against the Jews, and to foster it by means of periodicals, songs, lampoons and pictures. The emperor at first opposed the suggestion to expel the Jews from Vienna, but he finally yielded, and, with the blowing of trumpets, proclamation was made (Feb. 14, 1670) that the Jews must leave Vienna within a few months on pain of corporal punishment and death. As there was no prospect that a change of this decision could be effected at court where the Jesuits, through the empress and her father-confessor, had the upper hand, the Jews appealed to Manoel Texeira of Hamburg, the resident of Queen Christina of Sweden, to use his influence with the princes of the state and of the Church in their behalf. Manoel had already written several Spanish grandees with whom he was connected to bring pressure to bear upon the empress' father-confessor. He also turned to the wise and mighty Cardinal Azzolino of Rome, the friend of Queen Christina (whom she called now angel, now devil). The Queen of Sweden, who was held in very high esteem by the Catholic world on account of her romantic conversion to Catholicism, inspired Texeira with the hope that the edict of expulsion would be revoked through her appeal to the papal nuncio. But all these combined exertions proved futile. The emperor, or rather the empress, remained firm this time, and disposed of their houses even before the Jews departed; he was, moreover, humane enough to decree, under grievous penalties, that the populace do no harm to the departing Jews.

And so the Jews had to grasp the wanderer's staff in their hands, and the Jesuits rejoiced and proclaimed the glory of God. The magistracy bought the Jewish quarter from the emperor for 100,000 gulden, and named it Leopoldstadt, in the emperor's honor. On the site of the synagog a church was erected, and the emperor, in honor of his patron saint, laid the cornerstone thereof (Aug. 18, 1670). The exiles scattered through Moravia, Bohemia, Bavaria, wherever they were permitted to settle for the time being, but they were not permitted to enter into Hungary.

But this seamy side had its bright side, too. The aspiring Prussian-Brandenburg state, which tolerated but few Jews hitherto, became as a result of the expulsion from Vienna a new, if not hospitable, home for the exiles. The "Great Elector," who laid the firm foundation for the future greatness of the Prussian monarchy, was, to be sure, not more tolerant than most of the princes of the century of Louis XIV. But, at any rate, he was much wiser than Emperor Leopold, and realized that a full treasury is not entirely unessential to the prosperity of a state, and that the Jews still retained some of their ancient fame as good financiers. In the March of Brandenburg no Jews had been permitted to live for a century. But a certain consistency induced Frederick William, who hated half-measures, to tolerate the Jews, despite the prejudices of the intolerant Protestant population. In the Peace of Westphalia (1648), he had acquired the city of Halberstadt and its environs which contained hardly ten Jewish families. As these could not summarily be expelled, the Great Elector granted them a charter which was neither better nor worse than the acts of toleration of that day. The territory of Neumark, too, it seems, contained several Jewish families. In the district of Cleves (Emmerich, Wesel, Duisburg, Minden) that was adjudged to Brandenburg, small communities existed from ancient times. In Emmerich Frederick William found an unusually gifted Jew, Elijah Gumperts (Gompertz), who rendered him important services during the war as purveyor of arms, cannon and powder, and as a diplomatic agent. Since isolated Jews indeed lived in his states, why should not the Elector, ambitious for the advancement of his country, accommodate still more Jews, particularly those who possessed capital? His ambassador in Vienna accordingly set himself in communication with wealthy Jews, and, at his suggestion, twelve of them proceeded to Berlin to negotiate with the Elector. The conditions under which they were admitted were in some respects hard indeed, but more favorable, on the whole, than those of other Protestant countries. Fifty families of the Austrian exiles were permitted to settle at will in Brandenburg and in the Duchy of Krossen and to transact business everywhere without interference. Each family was to pay an annual tax of eight thalers (about $5.50) as protection money, and one gold florin for every wedding and for every funeral. In return, they were exempt from paying the poll-tax throughout the country. They were permitted to buy and build houses, but on condition that they must sell them to a Christian at the expiration of a given time. They were not permitted to maintain synagogs, but could maintain houses of prayer, a school-teacher, a slaughterer (shochet). This charter was to be valid for only twenty years; but prospects were held out to them that it would be extended by the Elector or his successor. Of these fifty Austrian families, about seven—among them the families Riess, Lazarus, Veit—settled in Berlin and laid the foundation for the great community of the future. Frederick William admitted likewise other wealthy Jews from Hamburg and Glogau; and thus there arose comunities in Landsberg and Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Now and then the great Elector manifested also an unselfish interest in the welfare of the Jews. When he entered into the romantic plan proposed by the Swedish state-councillor Skytte to establish in the March (at Tangermünde) a general university for all sciences, as well as an asylum for persecuted scholars, his program demanded that Jewish men of science, as well as Arabians and infidels, be admitted into this asylum on condition that they do not disseminate their erroneous ideas. It is to the special credit of this prince that he took under his protection two Jewish youths who were impelled by a love of knowledge, and ordered their admission to the university of Frankfort-on-the-Oder. Tobias Cohen Rofe (1653-1729), whose father had fled to Metz from the Cossack massacres, had an intense desire to study medicine. In passing through Brandenburg, he and a companion of his own age ventured to appeal to the Elector for permission to attend the university of Frankfort. Frederick William forced the medical faculty to admit the Jewish youths to the lectures and, in addition, allowed them an annual stipend during the period of their study.

For a moment it seemed that the Maranos of Portugal, the most wretched of the wretched Jews of that period, would be delivered from their horrible situation and that the power of the damnable inquisition would be broken. More than a century and a half passed, at least four generations, since the bloody tribunal was introduced into Portugal without the formal, legal sanction of Rome. A strain of Jewish blood flowed in the veins of people, nobility and even princes; monasteries and nunneries were full of Maranos or half-Maranos. The

New-Christians were nevertheless still an object of suspicion, hatred and persecution because the Old-Christian population felt instinctively that the Maranos never did and never would take their Christian confession seriously, but endured it merely as a yoke to be thrown off at the first opportunity.

At the Portuguese court and in the papal curia, intrigues were suddenly set on foot against the power of the inquisition. These intrigues were instigated by the Jesuit priest Antonio Vieira, the slyest of the sly, who, strange to say, had a particular inclination for Jews and Maranos. During his sojourn in Amsterdam, he visited the synagogs and associated with the rabbis Manasseh and Aboab. This Jesuit had once been shut up by the inquisition in a monastery and deprived of his vote and his right to preach; Vieira therefore determined to avenge himself on the Holy Office, and his fellow Jesuits stood by him. He hastened to Rome, and exerted himself to the utmost to bring about the humiliation of the inquisition. Balthasar, the Jesuit provincial of Malabar, submitted to the regent Dom Pedro a plan for the reconquest of India which Portugal had lost. To carry this plan into execution a great deal of money was necessary. The Maranos possessed the money and they would gladly exchange it for an alleviation of their misery and a general amnesty. Dom Pedro ordered his father-confessor to open negotiations with them. While the Jesuits were secretly undermining the Holy Office, the latter aroused the fanaticism of the people against the Maranos, and imprisoned several of them on the charge of stealing the eucharist. To put an end to the eternal agitation, several members of the council of state proposed to banish all the Maranos once for all. The inquisition, fearing the loss of their prey, strenuously objected to this proposal. The monsters even assumed a cloak of mercy; it isn't right to expel so many innocent people for the guilt of a few and to expose their wavering faith to temptation.

The Jesuits, and particularly Antonio Vieira, the bitter enemy of the inquisition, had meanwhile produced in Rome a favorable attitude toward the Maranos. Pope Clement X issued a brief to Portugal to the effect that the Maranos may send solicitors to Rome for the purpose of advancing their complaints against the inquisition. The pope even suspended the activity of the Portuguese tribunal (Oct. 3, 1674), forbade the judges to condemn the Maranos to death, or to the galleys, as well as to confiscate their property, and decreed that the imprisoned Maranos be tried before the general inquisition of Rome. The papal nuncio published this bull in Portugal. The Jesuits were victorious for the moment. The inquisitors, however, incited the people again. In the streets of Lisbon riotous crowds shouted: "Death to all Jews and Maranos!" When the pope, in a formal bull, removed the inquisitors from office and ordered them to turn over the keys of the inquisitorial dungeons to the nuncio, the Portuguese inquisitors refused obedience.

The inquisitors of Spain were very much displeased with this interference of the pope in the internal affairs of the tribunals. What if it occurred to the papal curia to institute the same proceedings against themselves? They were determined to forestall such a possibility; they would show the pope that he dare not touch them since the court and the people agreed with them that heretics and Jews must be exterminated. For this purpose they availed themselves of the weak-mindedness of the young king, Charles II. They succeeded in persuading him that he could institute no more attractive festivity in honor of his young wife, the niece of Louis XIV, than by organizing a great auto-da-fé with the burning of many heretics. Diego de Sarmiento, the twenty-fifth inquisitor-general, thereupon issued an order to all the tribunals of Spain to deliver all the convicted heretics in Madrid in time for the grand celebration. Heralds solemnly proclaimed four weeks in advance (May, 1680) that on a certain day a great auto-da-fé would be held in Madrid. The object of the inquisitors was not merely to provide a pageant, but also to intimidate the pope and the cardinals who began to entertain feelings of sympathy for the victims of the inquisition. Sixteen master carpenters and their journeymen were busily engaged for several weeks in erecting, in a wide square, the stages and platforms for the court, the nobility, the clergy and the people.

Such a large number of victims had not been seen for a long time. One hundred and eighteen persons of every age and both sexes! The various tribunals outside of Madrid had supplied seventy or more victims, condemned for Judaising. Early in the morning (Sunday, June 30, 1680), these wretches, barefooted, clad in penitential garments, with candles in their hands, were led to the place of execution, accompanied by priests and monks of all orders, knights and familiars of the inquisition with crosses and fluttering flags. Charcoal burners, carrying halberds, headed the procession in accordance with ancient custom. Effigies of dead and escaped heretics, designated by name, and coffins with the remains of impenitants, were borne by the assistants of the inquisitorial hangmen. The weak-minded king, the young queen, Maria Louise of Orleans, ladies-in-waiting, high dignitaries, the upper and lower nobility, all gathered early in the morning at the scene, and despite the oppressive heat, remained till late at night. Any important personage, even prominent ladies, who were absent without good reason, incurred the suspicion of heresy. At the sight of the victims the people shouted: "Long live our faith!" All of a sudden there was heard the supplicating voice of a wonderfully pretty seventeen-year-old girl, who happened to stand near the queen: "Generous queen, have mercy upon my youth! How could I deny the religion which I have imbibed with my mother's milk!" Marie Louise, not much older herself, suppressed a tear. The inquisitor-general, Diego de Sarmiento, did not fail to take advantage of this opportunity to remind His Most Catholic Majesty with gospel and cross in hand, of his duty to persecute infidels. The king solemnly pledged his word to fulfill this duty, and suited deed to word by setting fire with a torch handed to him by a priest to the first stake erected for eighteen Maranos. All these victims publicly acknowledged the Jewish faith. Among them there was a widow sixty years old, with her two daughters and a son-in-law thirty-six years of age, who had spent eight years in prison, and two other women, one of whom was hardly thirty years old. Most of the victims were men in the prime of life, between the ages of 27 and 38, simple people, tobacco dressers, goldsmiths and merchants, all of whom died with fortitude. Several threw themselves into the flames. The Marchioness de Villars wrote to her husband: "I didn't have the courage to witness this horrible execution of the Jews. It was a frightful spectacle, I was told. One could be excused from attending the auto-da-fé only on a physician's certificate. The cruelties witnessed at the death of these wretches are indescribable." Another French lady wrote: "I did not attend the execution; I was grief-stricken at the sight of the condemned. . . . But one must not believe that such a horrible example would lead the Jews to conversion. They are not affected by it in the least; there is in the very City of Madrid a considerable number of Jews who are known as such, but who are, nevertheless, left in their positions as officials in the government." Of the other fifty-four Maranos, some were sent to the galleys; some were sentenced to several years' imprisonment, and others for life.

This great auto-da-fé in Madrid must have had a crushing effect upon Rome, for Pope Innocent XI immediately withdrew his opposition to the Portuguese inquisition, and contented himself with a mere semblance of obedience. The little kingdom of Portugal declined in consequence of the condemnation of wealthy Maranos, who were engaged in various industries. Half a century later, a statesman told the Portuguese heir-apparent: "When your Highness ascends the throne, you will find many pretty boroughs and villages, including Lamego and Guarda, almost depopulated. If you inquire how it happened that these places fell into ruin, and their industries were destroyed, few will dare tell you the truth, that the inquisitors, by imprisoning many for the crime of Judaising, and forcing others to flee for fear of confiscation and imprisonment, devastated these cities and boroughs, and destroyed the industries of the country."

Outside of Spain, the Christian merchants played the Dominicans as far as the Jews were concerned. To get rid of the irksome competition of the Jews, they utilized or fabricated reports of the stealing or murder of Christian children. It seems to have been not an accident but a symptom of morbid excitement that such charges were advanced and exploited almost simultaneously in Metz, Berlin and Padua.

But even though the cruel treatment of the

Jews, expulsions, malicious accusations and massacres had not yet ceased at this time, their number and extent diminished. This phenomenon was the consequence of a growing civilization in the larger cities of Europe, a kind of predilection for Jews and their splendid literature, and admiration for their continuance. Educated Christians, Catholics as well as Protestants, leaders who were not given to mystic vagaries, began to wonder at the continuance of this people. This people, subjected to such bloody persecution for a thousand years and more, trodden under foot, treated like wild beasts or mangy dogs, without a fatherland, without a protector, with everybody's hand raised against it—how could this people still exist? But it not only exists, but still forms a separate entity, and even in its lowliness is still too proud to intermingle with the dominant nations. An ever larger number of writers interceded for them, urged kind treatment for them, and appealed to Christians not to destroy or disfigure this living wonder. Some went very far in their enthusiasm for the Jews. The Huguenot preacher, Pierre Jurieu, of Rotterdam, wrote a book (1685) on "The Fulfillment of the Prophecies," to the effect that God had preserved this people in order to perform great wonders for them. The real anti-Christ is the cruel persecution of the Jews. The Dane Oliger (Holger) Pauli (1644-1702) devoted himself with an excessive zeal to bring about the return of the Jews to their ancestral land. His love for the Jewish people was so great that he squandered millions upon his whim of furthering the return of the Jews to Palestine, and addressed mystic letters to King William III of England, and the dauphin of France to induce them to take charge of this work of restoration. John Peter Speet (of Augsburg), born in Vienna, of Catholic parents, went still further in his enthusiasm for Jews and Judaism. After he had written a book for the glorification of Catholicism, he joined the Socinians and Mennonites, and finally embraced Judaism in Amsterdam, assuming the name of Moses Germanus (died April 17, 1702). As he stated it himself, it was just the malicious charges against the Jews that inspired him with opposition to Christianity. "Even to this day, many such occurrences happen in Poland and in Germany, since all circumstances are detailed, and songs are sung in the street about the Jews again murdering a Christian child and forwarding its blood in quills. In order to have no share in this devilish fraud, I left the Christianity which is so disposed." Moses Germanus was Paul reversed. Even today one dare not write down everything that Moses Germanus had given expression to about Christianity. He was, however, not the only Christian who, at that time, submitted to the not undangerous operation, and who exposed himself to insult and abuse out of love for Judaism.

The rich Jewish literature, just as much as, if not more than, the recognition of the pristine glory of Israel, attracted learned Christians, and inspired them with sympathy for the people that produced such treasures. In the middle and at the close of the seventeenth century, even more so than at its beginning, Christian scholars devoted themselves assiduously to the study of the Hebrew language and rabbinic literature, not as a mere ornament, but as an essential element of scholarship. It was regarded as a disgrace for Catholic and Protestant theologians to be ignorant of "rabbinics," and those who were so ignorant could excuse themselves only by branding the Hebraists as "half-rabbis." A good-natured but dull Christian writer of this period (John George Wachter) sighs bitterly at this phenomenon: "Would that those who style themselves Christians cease their activities in behalf of Judaism in which they engage with a zeal surpassing that of a proselyte, to the detriment of their religion. For a species of a new Ebionitism has arisen that traces everything to the Jews."

Abbe Richard Simon of the Congregation of the Oratoire of Paris, the first Bible-critic, contributed materially to the enhancement of the glory of the Jews and their literature. This Catholic priest, who established the study of the Old and the New Testament on a solid, scientific and philologic basis, devoted himself to Jewish literature with great zeal, and utilized it in his researches. A thinker of keen intellect, he unconsciously went beyond the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Spinoza's critical comments on the Bible aroused in him the desire to make further investigations; and since, as a genuine Frenchman, he followed common sense rather than scholastic speculations, he developed these researches, and raised them to the dignity of an independent science. Richard Simon was particularly disgusted with the exegesis of the Protestants who used to support all their wisdom and all their folly by biblical verses, and he undertook to prove its absurdity: "You Protestants rely, in your opposition to Catholic tradition, upon the sheer word of God; I will remove the ground from under you and leave you suspended in the air, as it were." Richard Simon, by his "Critical History of the Old Testament" (Histoire critique du vieux Testament, Paris, 1678), was the precursor of Reimarus and David Strauss. The Catholics received his work with hearty applause, without suspecting that they were nourishing a viper in their bosom. Simon's works, written not in Latin, but in the vernacular, and with a certain elegance, excited due attention, and were read with avidity by all educated men and women. The rabbinic literature was thus introduced to the educated world to a greater extent than was ever done by Reuchlin, Scaliger, the two Buxtorfs and the Dutch scholars who wrote in Latin. To gain a thorough mastery of this literature, Richard Simon, like Reuchlin before him, had to seek intercourse with Jews; as a consequence he discarded some of his anti-Jewish prejudices which still prevailed in France in all their density. Richard Simon not only refused to share in the presumption based on ignorance that Christianity was something peculiar, rudimentally distinct from and far superior to Judaism, but also had the courage to state that Christianity, in content and form, is modeled completely after Judaism, and must resemble it once more: "Inasmuch as Christianity had its origin in Judaism, it can be understood only in relation to Judaism. Some of the ceremonies, too, are derived from the Jews." He spoke almost with regret at the expulsion of the Jews from France that once contained such learned Jews who regarded Paris as their Athens. He defended the Jews against the charge that they hated the Christians; zealously advocated the cause of the Jews of Metz when they were charged with the murder of a Christian child, and on every other occasion. His books and letters, written in a vivid French and widely read by educated people, gained many friends for Judaism, or, at least, diminished the number of its enemies. It seems, however, that the official Catholic Church took umbrage at this praise of Judaism, and Richard Simon, who was a lover of peace, recanted in part.

What a strange fate was that of the Jewish people! Educated Christians at that time sought for the highest wisdom in Jacob's tents, and treated with the deepest veneration even that abortion of

Judaism, the cabala, but still regarded the Jews as capable of the most heinous crimes! Accusations advanced in former days by the ignorant, and later by scoundrels who profited by them, were reiterated in this century by educated Christians. Jacob Geusius, a Friesian Protestant clergyman and physician, published two books: "Anan and Caiaphas Escaped from the Underworld" and "Human Sacrifices," in which he gathered all the slanderous tales ever told about the Jews, from the days of Apion and Tacitus to those of Bernard of Feltre who canonized the boy Simon of Trent as a martyr of Jewish depravity. In this century, however, Jews had no longer to endure abuse in silence, but ventured to refute the slanders. An eloquent and learned Holland Jew wrote, under the name of Isaac Viva, an able refutation of Wachter's attack, under the title of "The Blood Avenger," in which he lays great stress upon two points: that not a single case of child-murder on the part of Jews has ever been proven by documentary evidence beyond all doubt, and that the pagans, in the early centuries of Christianity, charged the Christians with the same crimes.

Isaac Cardoso, the clear-headed, scholarly and scrupulous brother of the Sabbathaist humbug, Miguel Cardoso, also wrote at the same time an interesting refutation of the charges against the Jews. In his "Excellencies of the Hebrews" (Las Excellencias de los Hebreos; completed 1678, published in Amsterdam, 1689), he points out the noble qualities of the Jewish people, and proves that the crimes imputed to them had no foundation in fact. Israel is a divinely chosen people, called by God for His service. He is the living witness of the unity of God, and is therefore separated from the other nations by peculiar laws. He developed three characteristics: sympathy with the suffering of other human beings, benevolence and chastity. He faithfully follows his religious laws, as a divine revelation, handed down to him by his fathers, and not on the ground of philosophic speculations which are superfluous. Wise men of other nations therefore admire this loyalty. The people of Israel alone were endowed with the gift of prophecy. And this God-beloved people, divinely chosen, endowed with so many excellencies, and the recipient of some special divine favors, had from time immemorial been maligned by accusations some of which are ridiculous and some horrible. All these charges which he enumerates Cardoso refutes by historic documents.

An indication of the approach of a better day may be seen also in the circumstance that princes who at that time took a more unselfish interest in the Jews than heretofore, and who even entertained a regard for their literature, opposed the prejudices and the intentional slanders against the Jews with ever greater zeal. Prince Christian August of the Palatinate Sulzbach, who loved the Hebrew language and literature and who even occupied himself with the cabala (probably under the instruction of the mystic Knorr of Rosenroth), ordered his mandate placarded throughout his domain when a report of a child-murder was twice circulated (1682, 1692), warning his people not to pay any credence "to the far-spread, fabricated and mendacious charges against the Jews, not to circulate them any further, not to speak of them at all, and still less to disturb the Jews on that account."

The attention which Christian scholars and princes paid to Jews and their literature produced rather queer situations at times. Sweden, the most bigoted Protestant counry, excluded boh Jews and Catholics. But King Charles XI of Sweden took nevertheless a very deep interest in the Jews and particularly in the Karaites, possibly in the hope of inducing the latter, who were not bound by the Talmud, to embrace Christianity. Charles XI accordingly sent Gustav Peringer of Lilienblad, a student of Hebrew and professor of the University of Upsala, to Poland (about 1690) to visit the Karaites, study their life and customs, and to purchase copies of their writings. Provided with letters of introduction to the king of Poland, Peringer traveled to Lithuania that contained several small Karaite communities. But the Polish or Lithuanian Karaites had become more degenerate even than their brethren of Constantinople, the Crimea, or Egypt. Their number had dwindled as a result of the Cossack persecutions, and their literature became scattered. There were only a very few scholars among them who had some knowledge of the origin and the history of their sect, and there was none who possessed accurate information on these subjects. Just at this time the Polish king John Sobieski ordered his favorite Karaite "judge," Abraham ben Samuel of Troki, for some unknown purpose, to request his coreligionists to settle in other small towns too, outside of their main settlements of Troki, Lutsk and Halicz. The Karaites thus scattered still further, some of them settling in the northern province of Samogitia. Thus separated from their center, isolated, avoiding intercourse with the Rabbinites, and thrown back on the society of the Polish peasants, the Polish Karaites sank into rusticity and stupidity. What a contrast they presented to the excessive mental keenness of the Rabbinic Jews of Poland!

Several years later (1696-97), two other Swedish scholars visited Lithuania for the same purpose, probably again at the instance of Charles XI, and extended a friendly invitation to Karaites to come to Sweden with them, for the purpose of giving personal information about their faith. Samuel ben Aaron, a young Karaite who had some knowledge of Latin, decided to proceed to Riga to discuss this matter with a royal official, John Puffendorf. With a lack of literary sources and with the ignorance that prevailed among the Karaites about the historic origin and the development of their sect, the information contained in Samuel's discourses was naturally inadequate. The Karaites were made the subject of investigation in another place, too. Jacob Trigland, a professor of the University of Leyden, who was quite familiar with the Hebrew literature, desired to write a book on the ancient Jewish sects that were no longer in existence. In his eagerness to obtain information about the Polish Karaites and to acquire copies of their literary productions, he sent a letter through well-known commercial firms, addressed to the Karaites in general, in which he asked some definite questions to which he desired a reply (1698). This letter fell accidentally into the hands of Mordecai ben Nissan, a poor Karaite of Lutsk, who occupied an humble office in the community, and he undertook to reply to Trigland's letter. This Karaite himself did not possess sufficient knowledge to account for the origin and the cause of the schism between the Rabbinites and the Karaites, but he regarded it as an affair of honor to take advantage of this opportunity to bring the forgotten Karaites to the notice of the educated world by means of a Christian scholar, and, at the same time, to deal a few blows at their opponents, the Rabbinite Jews.

The attention which Christian scholars paid to Jewish literature involved the Jews in some annoyance and unpleasantness. Particularly annoying were the German Protestant scholars who emulated the Dutch and the Frenchman, Richard Simon, and acquired quite a cumbrous scholarship, but possessed neither the friendly tolerance toward the Jews nor the eloquence of style that characterized the latter. Almost simultaneously, three German Hebraists—Wülfer, Wagenseil and Eisenmenger—utilized their knowledge of the Hebrew literature for the purpose of advancing charges against the Jews. John Wülfer searched for Hebrew manuscripts and old Jewish prayer-books upon which to base his charge against the Jews. Some Jews, in reciting the concluding prayer (Alenu) pertaining to the glory of God's kingdom, used to add the sentence, "for they (the heathens) worship a vain and empty thing." The enemies of the Jews insisted that the Jews referred to Jesus in the word "empty" and regarded it as a blasphemy. This sentence was not printed in the prayer book, but in some editions a hiatus was left in its place. This hiatus or that word greatly disturbed the peace of the pious Protestants; Wülfer searched in the libraries and when he discovered the word in a manuscript he made his discovery known in a book, and praised Prince George of Hessen for making his Jews take a solemn oath never to utter this blasphemous word. Wülfer was just enough, on the other hand, to admit that the blood accusation was a malicious fabrication and that the testimony of Jewish renegades was untrustworthy.

The jurist John Christopher Wagenseil, a kindly man and well disposed toward the Jews, disparaged them even more than the theologian. He made even more distant journeys than Wülfer; traveled through Spain to Africa, and searched everywhere for anti-Christian works written by Jews. With this find he filled his quiver with "Satan's Fiery Arrows" (Tela ignea Satanæ). Wagenseil urged the Protestant princes to establish effective institutions for the conversion of the Jews. It is true that in Rome where, ever since the days of Gregory XIII, a Dominican monk used to preach to and sleepily argue with a number of Jews on certain Sabbaths every year, Wagenseil saw the Jews yawn during the discourse and even make sport of it, but he believed that the Protestant princes, more zealous Christians than the Catholics, could achieve better results. At the same time Wagenseil entertained kindly feelings toward the Jews. He states with great emphasis that it is wrong to burn the Jews, to rob them of their property, or to drive them out of the country. He regarded it the height of cruelty to baptize Jewish children against their will and to force them to accept Christianity, as was done in Germany and in several other countries. He wrote a special book for the purpose of refuting the horrible charge of child-murder. One may pardon him the absurdities he stated elsewhere for the sake of that book that advocates the Jewish cause so warmly.

One can hardly believe that, despite this verdict, uttered with firm conviction by Wülfer and Wagenseil who had come into the most intimate association with Jews for years, their contemporaries still persisted in repeating that horrible falsehood. John Andreas Eisenmenger, a Protestant professor of Oriental languages, reiterated the ritual murder charge that had time and again been branded as a malicious fabrication and thus furnished posterity with material for the defamation of the Jews. Eisenmenger was one of those creatures that would draw poison out of flowers.

Eisenmenger compiled a venomous book of two bulky volumes, the very title of which was a challenge to Christians to rise against the Jews. He named his book, "Judaism Exposed, or a thorough and truthful account of how the obdurate Jews horribly blaspheme and dishonor the holy Trinity, scorn the holy mother of Christ, the New

Testament, the evangelists and apostles, mock at the Christian religion, and extremely despise and curse all of Christianity. Containing, in addition, many other things little known or entirely unknown and great errors of the Jewish religion and theology, as well as ridiculous and merry tales, everything proven by their own books. Prepared for all Christians as candid information." It was Eisenmenger's object to hurl Wagenseil's "Satan's Fiery Arrows" at the Jews. He repeated in this book all the mendacious tales of the murder of Christians committed by the Jews, and of the poisoning of the wells on the part of the Jews during the Black Death. Some Jews got wind of the printing of Eisenmenger's work in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and were considerably frightened at the danger that threatened them. For the ancient anti-Jewish prejudices were still too deeply rooted in Germany, among the Protestants still more so than among the Catholics, for an incendiary work of this kind, written in the German language to produce no serious effects. The Jews of Frankfort, therefore, set themselves in communication (1700) with the court Jews of Vienna, particularly with the generous banker, Samuel Oppenheim, to avert the danger. The latter exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the appearance of Eisenmenger's book. He and the other Jews justly maintained that the publication of this book, written in German, even though in an insipid style, would incite the populace to plunder and murder the Jews. The Emperor Leopold I thereupon issued an edict forbidding the circulation of Eisenmenger's book. Eisenmenger was thus doubly hurt; he could not propagate his hatred of the Jews, and, in addition, he not only lost his entire fortune which he had spent on the printing of the book, but even contracted debts. All the copies, with a few exceptions, were placed under seal.

But Frederick I, the newly crowned (1701) king of Prussia, warmly espoused the cause of the author and his book. The attention of this prince had been directed to the Jews in various ways. Malicious Jewish renegades endeavored to prejudice the piety of the king and the people against the Jews, and advanced again the false charge that the Jews blasphemed Jesus in the Alenu prayer. The guilds that entertained no kindly sentiment toward the Jews anyway took advantage of this excitement to incite the people, and there ensued such a feeling of exasperation against the Jews in the cities and the villages that the latter (as they expressed it, possibly with intentional exaggeration) were not sure of their life. But King Frederick pursued a course that did honor to his kindliness of heart. He commanded all his governors (1702) to summon the rabbis, and, where there are no rabbis, the teachers and elders, on a given day and to ask them under oath whether they apply, expressly or tacitly, the blasphemous word "werik" in the Alenu prayer to Jesus. The Jews everywhere declared under oath that they never thought of Jesus in connection with that prayer, or with the hiatus in some of the prayer books. The theologian John Heinrich Michaelis of Halle, whose opinion was asked for by the government, likewise exonerated the Jews from the charge of blasphemy. But inasmuch as the king still suspected the Jews of reviling Jesus in their thoughts, he issued an entirely characteristic order preceded by an introduction (1703). It was indeed his heart's desire that the people of Israel, whom the Lord had once loved so much and chosen for his own possession, would be led to Christianity. However, he lay no claim to the control of the human conscience and left the conversion of the Jew to God's own time and decree. But he commanded under penalty that the Jews recite the prayer "Alenu" aloud, and not expectorate during its recital. Inspectors were appointed to listen in the synagog from time to time, as in the days of the Byzantine emperor Justinian, as to whether the concluding prayer in question was recited loudly or quietly by the precentor. Through the efforts of Isaachar Bärman of Halberstadt, a very influential Jew, who was court agent of the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland and well thought of in Berlin too, the police supervision over Jewish prayers was diminished.

Eisenmenger before his death and his heirs after it, who knew that the Prussian king was inclined to pay some attention to accusations against the Jews, appealed to him to induce the Emperor Leopold to remove the ban from the anti-Jewish book, "Judaism Exposed," and to release the printed copies thereof held under seal. Frederick I very warmly espoused the cause of the heirs, and addressed a sort of petition to the emperor (1705). The latter, however, declined to accede to Frederick's request. Thereupon, with the approval of Frederick I, a second edition was issued in Königsberg where the imperial censorship was not in force. The immediate effect of this venomous book was not so overwhelming as the ones had hoped and the others had feared; but in the future, when the question of the political enfranchisement of the Jews was under consideration, this book proved a veritable arsenal for the malevolent opponents of Jewish emancipation.

King Frederick I was often importuned by the enemies of the Jews to cover their baseness with his royal authority. The contrast in the estimate of the Jewish literature is very striking at this juncture. In Protestant Holland a Christian scholar at this very period manifested great enthusiasm for the Mishna, the basis of Talmudic Judaism. The young scholar, William Surenhuys of Amsterdam, translated the Mishna with two commentaries into Latin in the course of several years (published 1698-1703). He wished that Christian youths who prepared themselves for the ministry might receive their first consecration, as it were, by a study of the Mishna: "Whoever wishes to be a good and worthy disciple of Christ must first become a Jew; or he must first thoroughly familiarize himself with the language and the culture of the Jews and first become a disciple of Moses before he joins the Apostles." In this enthusiastic predilection for the very stone of the structure of Judaism which the builders used to reject, he included the people, the standard-bearers of that law. He thanks the Amsterdam Senate from the depth of his heart for the absolute protection they gave the Jews: "In so much as this people once excelled all other nations, you favor it, honorable sirs. The ancient fame and the dignity that this people and the citizens of Jerusalem once possessed, all this is yours. . . . For the Jews are sincerely devoted to you, not subjected by force and arms, but won by humaneness and widom. . . . They come to you, and are happy to obey your republican commands." Surenhuys expressed his indignation at those who, after deriving useful knowledge from Jewish writings, villify and throw mud at them "like highway robbers who, after robbing an honorable man of all his clothing, whip him with a switch and send him away with scorn." While Surenhuys in Protestant Holland was carried away by such enthusiasm for this, not particularly bright, side of Judaism (and he did not stand alone in this respect), in Protestant Prussia a base renegade once more accused the Talmud of defaming Christianity, and met with encouragement (1707). The enemies of the Jews intended to convert the new Prussian kingdom into a Protestant ecclesiastical state, and its first king into a pope, called upon to condemn everything that savored of heresy. But times had changed, after all; King Frederick, though very pious, dared no longer be a fanatic.

The predilection of Christian scholars for Jewish literature brought into maturity a rare fruit, an interesting history of the Jews and Judaism that, in a sense, marks the close of the old epoch and suggests the dawn of a new era. Jacob Basnage (1653-1723), a learned Protestant theologian, a thorough historian, a writer possessing a pleasing style, and, generally, a man of high repute, rendered Judaism an incalculable service by elucidating, simplifying and making accessible to all educated people the results of the laborious researches of scholars on the subject of Jews and Judaism. In the course of his diligent historic researches, particularly in connection with the development of the Church, Basnage came across Jews at almost every step, and the suspicion began to dawn upon him that the commonplace theologians might be wrong, after all, in their assertion that the Jewish people had run its course with the loss of its national independence and the spread of Christianity, had given up the ghost, and wandered about only as a skeleton. The sublime martyrdom of this people and its rich literature awakened within him a certain admiration. The historian's love of truth did not permit him to explain these facts away. Basnage undertook rather to compile a history of the Jews or of the Jewish religion from the time of Jesus to his own day. He endeavored, in so far as it lay within the power of a faithful Protestant at that time, to present the historic events without partiality: "The Christian must not regard it as strange that we very often exonerate the Jews from various crimes of which they were not guilty, since justice demands it. It is not partisanship if one charges with injustice and violence those who had practiced them. It is not our object to hurt the Jews, nor to favor them either. . . . They were accused of being the cause of all misfortunes that ever befell, and they were burdened with a load of crimes of which they never dreamed. Innumerable miracles were devised either for the purpose of convicting them of the crimes imputed to them, or rather with the object of gratifying the hatred of them under the cloak of religion. We have compiled a multitude of laws which the Councils and princes have issued against them, from which one may judge of the malice of the one and the oppression of the others. But by a miracle of Providence which cannot but excite the astonishment of all Christians, this nation, hated and persecuted everywhere through a long succession of centuries, is still in existence everywhere. . . . The peoples and kings, pagans, Christians and Mohammedans who are opposed to one another in so many respects, all united in their efforts to exterminate this nation, but they did not succeed. Moses' thorn-bush, surrounded by flames, always burned but was never consumed. Despite the disgrace and the hatred that followed them everywhere, they are still alive, while the greatest monarchies had fallen into such decay that only their names are known to us." Basnage, who had tasted the bread of banishment in Holland as a result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV (1685), could in some measure appreciate the feelings of the Jews in the course of their long exile. But he was not artist enough to unroll before the eyes in vivid colors, if only in swiftly passing panoramas, the sublime or tragic scenes of Jewish history. Nor did he possess the sense of historic perspective and of historic growth and gradual development which just the past of the Jewish people presents so strikingly. The Zealots who engaged in a struggle of life and death with the Roman colossus; the followers of Bar-Cocheba who made the Roman emperor tremble; the Arabian Jews who flung a new religion to the sons of the desert out of the crumbs left at their own table; the Jewish poets and thinkers of Spain and of the Provence who taught the Christians culture; the Maranos of Spain and Portugal who, hiding beneath the garb of monks and Jesuits, kept the secret flame of their convictions alive, and undermined the mighty Catholic state of Philip I—all these appear alike to Basnage and are treated with a certain sameness. Basnage, after all, saw Jewish history only through the heavy mist of church history. With all his honest intention of being impartial and just, he could not get away from the opinion that "the Jews are rejected because they had rejected Christ." In a word, Basnage's "History of the Jewish Religion" (Histoire de la religion des Juifs, Rotterdam, 1707-11) contains a thousand errors, nay hardly a single statement which, examined critically, corresponds to the truth.

And yet the appearance of Basnage's history was of great significance to the Jews. Because it was written in French which had come in vogue, it disseminated a large mass of historic material, even though crude and distorted, throughout the educated world; and this seed gradually bore fruit. Even though he cast some aspersion upon them, Basnage unconsciously paved the way for the elevation of the Jewish people out of their lowliness. The two bookworms, Christian Theophil Unger, a pastor in Herrenlauschitz (Silesia), and John Christopher Wolf, professor of Oriental languages in Hamburg (d. 1739), who occupied themselves earnestly and seriously with the Jewish literature and history, were his disciples, and could not have accomplished much in this field of learning without his labors. These two—Wolf, in particular—filled in many gaps which Basnage had left, with more thoroughness and even with a certain ardor for the subject.

Predilection, or at least sympathy, for the Jews led John Toland, the courageous champion of religious freedom, to demand that in England and Ireland the Jews be granted political equality with the Christians, the first loud voice in behalf of Jewish liberation. But they, in whose favor this remarkable change in the attitude of the educated world had set in, knew least about it. They were not conscious in the least of the changed direction of the wind.

CHAPTER VII

THE DEMORALIZATION

(1700-1760)

At the very time when the eyes of the educated world turned toward the Jewish people with a certain sympathy and partly even with admiration, and when ecclesiastical narrow-mindedness began to disappear with the dawn of enlightenment in the so-called philosophic century, the members of that race, intrinsically and externally, did not produce the most advantageous impression upon those who came in contact with them. Weighed in the scale in the hope of proving of full weight, they were found wanting. At no time did the Jews present so lamentable a spectacle as in the period from the end of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, as though it were intended that their rise from the lowest depth appear as a miracle. In the tragic course of the centuries, the former teachers of Europe were reduced to a state of childishness, or, still worse, to dotage. Everything done at this period of a public, historic nature, as it were, bears the stamp of this foolishness and demoralization. Not a single pleasing phenomenon appeared, hardly one noteworthy personality who could represent Judaism with dignity and inspire respect for it. Of the preceding generation there still towered the vigorous personality of Isaac Orobio de Castro (d. 1687), who had escaped from the clutches of the inquisition and whose fidelity to his convictions and dialectic keenness which he turned against Christianity inspired prominent opponents with respect for Judaism. He left no successor of equal ability in Amsterdam, the most cultured community, and surely not outside of it, where all cultural conditions were entirely absent. The leaders of the community were misguided for the most part, wandered about as in a dream, and stumbled at every step; but few rabbis occupied themselves with any other than Talmudic knowledge or developed anything new even in that department. One of the few exceptions was David Nieto (born in Venice 1654, died 1728), rabbi of London. He was a physician and mathematician, was able enough to defend Judaism against defamation, and wrote alongside of many platitudes some things of value also. A man of considerable importance was the Italian rabbi, Judah Leon Brieli, of Mantua (b. ab. 1643, d. 1722), who possessed sound views and solid knowledge, and wrote a defense of Judaism against Christian attacks in an eloquent Italian. Brieli possessed the courage to disregard customs the violation of which his generation looked upon as worse than a crime; he remained unmarried all his life, and, though a rabbi, he wore no beard. But his influence upon his Jewish contemporaries was very slight. The weaknesses of Christianity he recognized fully, but the defects of Judaism and Jewry he could not see with equal penetration. He was thoroughly convinced of the pernicious effects produced by the Zohar and the cabala in general, and wished they had never existed; but his thoughts did not reach beyond that.

With those exceptions, the rabbis of this period were generally no paragons; those of Germany and

Poland were mostly miserable figures, their heads filled with sterile knowledge, but otherwise as ignorant and as helpless as little children. The Portuguese rabbis presented outwardly a dignified and imposing appearance, but inwardly they, too, were hollow; the Italian rabbis resembled the German rabbis more closely, but did not possess their learning. Thus, without able leaders, given to ignorance or to learned conceit, chasing phantoms, Jewry staggered from folly to folly, and permitted itself to be misled by impostors and visionaries. "Estranged from life and from true knowledge, they exhausted their considerable mental capacities upon subtleties and upon superstitious cabalistic aberrations. The teachers spoke rarely or only on Talmudic subjects with their pupils; no attention was paid to delivery, since they possessed neither language nor eloquence." Superstitious practices bearing a religious tinge were widely indulged in. It was demanded of every rabbi that he write amulets (Kamea) to ward off diseases, and the rabbis lent themselves to it; some claimed to be able to exorcise evil spirits. A Damascus cabalist boasted in all seriousness before the biblical critic, Richard Simon, that he possessed the power to conjure up a higher spirit, and began to make preparations for it. But when he saw the skeptic Abbé follow his movements with a satirical smile, the conjurer escaped from the difficulty by stating that the soil of France was not adapted for apparitions. Thinking Christians marveled at this wonderful monument of history, at this people with its Law and its varied career, rich in glory and in tragedy; but Israel himself was insensible of his own glory, or sought it in silly tales and absurd practices. Christians investigated with diligence and with feelings of amazement the three-thousand-year-old Jewish history; the Jews themselves, including the Portuguese, manifested no interest in their own history. Three historians are indeed named in this period: the itinerant rabbi, David Conforte (d. 1671); Miguel (Daniel) de Barrios, a Marano born in Portugal, who embraced Judaism in Amsterdam (d. 1701), and the Polish rabbi, Jehiel Heilperin of Minsk (d. about 1747). But all three resemble the monkish chroniclers of the barbaric age, and their manner of representation rather repels than attracts.

If literature is the photographic reproduction of the thought and tendencies of a given period, the century intervening between Spinoza and Mendelssohn must have been an ugly one, indeed. A great deal was written and published, every obscure rabbi sought to perpetuate his name, assure his salvation, and incidentally gain profit by means of a new contribution, an addition to the already vast rabbinic material. Subtle rabbinic commentaries, insipid sermons and devotional books and twaddling polemics—this was the product of the Jewish intellect of that period. The flower of poetry did not bloom in this swamp. This period produced only two poets—Laguna and Luzzatto; true sons of the Jewish muse, to be sure, separated by distant zones, the one on the Island of Jamaica, the other in Italy, as though the ancient half-dead Jewish trunk wished to prove that it was full of sap and possessed the power of rejuvenescence even under the most unfavorable conditions. Lopez Laguna, born in France of Marano parents (about 1660, d. after 1720), came to Spain as a youth and fell into the clutches of the inquisition. In the night of his sorrows the soulful Psalms brought him light and hope, as they did to so many of his comrades in affliction. Released from prison and escaped to Jamaica, Laguna, under the Jewish name of Daniel Israel, made a faithful translation of the psalms that brought him so much comfort into musical and pleasing verse, in order to make them accessible to those Maranos who were unfamiliar with the Hebrew. This psalter, "A Mirror of Life," written in various Spanish metres, Laguna brought to London, and was heartily applauded by several poets and three poetesses: Sarah de Fonseca Pinto y Pimentel, Manuela Nuñez de Almeida, and Bienvenida Coen Belmonte, in Latin, English, Portuguese and Spanish verses. Moses Hayim Luzzatto, enmeshed in the dismal aberrations of this period, wrote two dramas full of beauty and the freshness of youth. But outside of these poetic flowers this long period presented only a colorless waste. The moral sense, too, was weakened in this general demoralization. The fundamental Jewish virtues, it is true, remained unimpaired: idyllic domestic love, fraternal sympathy with one another, and chastity. Coarse vices and crimes were of rare occurrence among Jews; thoroughly conscienceless rascals were considerate enough to forsake their people, and preferred to pollute the church or the mosque with their immoral doings. But the sense of right and of honor was generally weakened. To gain, to acquire money was such an imperative necessity that the manner of its acquisition was a matter of indifference and not a subject of criticism. There arose in consequence a worship of Mammon, not merely love of gold, but also a respect for it, no matter how dishonorably acquired. The democratic equality that hitherto prevailed among Jews to a considerable extent disappeared in the midst of this mad dance about the Golden Calf. The most wealthy, not the most worthy, were placed at the head of the local boards, and thus received a license for arbitrariness and arrogance. A satire dating from this period castigates drastically the omnipotence of money to which everyone submits: "The gulden binds and looses, and raises the ignorant to the highest office in the community."

This moral degeneracy was due also to the increasing poverty among the Jews. Only among the small number of the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, Hamburg, Leghorn, Florence and London were there men of large means. Isaac (Antonio) Suasso, named Baron Avernes de Gras by Charles II of Spain, was in a position to offer William III, Stadholder of Holland, on his semi-adventurous departure for London to take possession of the English crown, a loan of two million gulden without interest, simply with the words: "If you are successful, you will repay me; if not, I am ready to lose it." Francisco Melo rendered the state of Holland great services by means of his wealth. One of the de Pintos left several millions for benevolent purposes, and provided for Jewish communities, the state, Christian orphan asylums, clergymen and sextons. In Hamburg there were the Texeiras and Daniel Abensur, who advanced large sums of money to the impoverished Polish government. Solomon de Medina, the constant companion of General John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, and who was knighted by Queen Anne, had an annual income of eighty thousand pounds, and it is believed with good reason that the great general received from him an annual allowance of five thousand pounds. The German and partly also the Italian and Oriental Jews were, on the other hand, impoverished for the most part. The new commercial routes that diverted the international trade from its old channels produced this change. Most impoverished of all were the Polish Jews who dominated European Jewry with their Talmudic learning. They never recovered from the wounds inflicted upon them by the Cossack uprisings, and the consequent confusion brought new afflictions. The increasing poverty of the Polish Jews sent forth year by year bands of beggars who made their way to the large communities of Southern and Western Europe that they might be assisted and maintained by their rich brethren. Polish Talmudists attained the most important rabbinical offices in such large communities as Prague, Nikolsburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Amsterdam and Hamburg, and even in Italy, because they surpassed by far all other Jews in the knowledge of the Talmud. And every Polish emigrant was a rabbi or preacher. It was these Polish wanderers who were responsible for this ever-increasing demoralization among the Jews. The training of the Jewish youth, or rather the neglect thereof, was entrusted to them; boys no sooner learned to talk when they were initiated into the Talmud by them and were made familiar with the quibbling, hair-splitting methods in vogue in Poland. As a result of this perversity, the language of the German Jews, like that of the Polish, acquired an obnoxious stammering and stuttering, and their thinking a distorted dogmaticalness and disputatiousness that defied all logic. Even the Portuguese Jews, who kept aloof from the disagreeable jargon, did not remain unaffected by the perverted thinking that dominated that period.

At this time, also, the miry floods of the Sabbathaist vagaries poured forth once more, and polluted everyone who came in contact with them, though they were still regarded as a fountain of living water. This, however, proved beneficial in so far as it agitated the stagnant swamp and set it in motion; or, to discard figures, this agitation tended to awaken the Jews from their lethargy and to stir up the rabbis and the Talmudists, who had become stupid and sluggish out of sheer sterile scholarship, to a certain passionateness and activity. After Sabbathai's death, one of his adherents, Daniel

Israel Bonafoux, an ignorant precentor of Smyrna, kept up the faith in the dead Messiah by all sorts of tricks. His accomplice was Abraham Miguel Cardoso, who had been driven out of Tripoli on account of his demagoguery, and who carried on the Sabbathaist fraud for more than twenty years in the conventicle of the Sabbathaists in Smyrna, as well as in Constantinople and Cairo, and was finally stabbed with a knife by his nephew, who thought that Cardoso had defrauded him. His humbuggery, however, did not cease with his death; for his writings, a mixture of nonsense and logic, were eagerly read and enflamed the imagination of the cabalistic visionaries. Cardoso, at least, remained faithful to Judaism. The prophet Bonafoux, on the other hand, probably on account of the persecutions he suffered at the hands of the rabbinate of Smyrna, took the turban.

Far more pernicious was the cabalistic aberration (1679-82), emanating from Mordecai of Eisenstadt, a Sabbathaist itinerant preacher, that was transplanted to Poland where it struck deeper root and proved more tenacious. Mordecai was a man of prepossessing appearance and venerable countenance, who was much given to penance, fasted many days in succession, and preached repentance and contrition with great fervor in Hungary, Moravia and Bohemia—a Jewish Vicente Ferrer. The applause with which his sermons were received aroused his self-confidence, and he declared himself a prophet. In his writings and addresses he maintained that Sabbathai Zebi was the true Messiah who through a mystic dispensation had necessarily to accept Islam. Three years after his alleged death, for he was not really dead at all, he would reveal himself and bring about the redemption. The Jews of Hungary, Moravia and Bohemia listened to his sermons and prophecies with great devotion.

Emboldened by the applause of the credulous, the preacher of Eisenstadt went still further in his folly and pretended that he was himself the true Messiah of the house of David, the risen Sabbathai Zebi. The latter could not accomplish the work of redemption because he was rich, whereas the Messiah had to be poor. All these absurdities were received with acclaim. Italian Jews invited the Hungarian Messiah to visit them, and he was received with enthusiasm in Modena and Reggio. He twaddled about his mission to go to Rome in order to make Messianic preparations in that sinful city, and also suggested cunningly that he might perhaps have to assume a Christian disguise, as Sabbathai Zebi assumed a Mohammedan disguise; that is, that he would seemingly submit to baptism in case of necessity. The discreet Jews of Italy became suspicious of this fantastic movement that was fraught with danger for Judaism; but they could accomplish nothing in the face of the superior number of the credulous. But his own adherents, fearing the inquisition, advised him at last to leave Italy, and he came to Poland by way of Bohemia. In Poland, where the doings of Sabbathai and his followers were only vaguely known, he found numerous adherents, and his frenzy became contagious. Mordecai's agitation gave rise to a sect in Poland that continued its mischievous doings even beyond the Mendelssohnian period.

At the same time the Sabbathaist craze broke out in Turkey once more. Sabbathai Zebi had left a widow who incited the Sabbathaists to new frenzies, prompted either by ambition or by wantonness, as her opponents maintained. On her return to Salonica, she pretended, it is said, that her brother Jacob was her own son, begotten of Sabbathai Zebi, and that she had given birth to him as a ten-year-old boy. This boy, who assumed the name of Jacob

Zebi, became therefore an object of reverential worship to the Sabbathaists who styled him Querido (darling). They believed that in him the souls of the two Messiahs of the house of Joseph and of David were united, that he was therefore the true Messiah, the genuine continuator of Sabbathai. His adherents, it is said, indulged in the most vicious excesses; it is certain that marriage was not regarded as sacred in this circle. According to the Lurian cabala, a wife who finds no favor in her husband's eyes may be sent away without much ado, as a hindrance to her mystically harmonious marriage, and left to another man who is attracted to her. This doctrine was followed faithfully in this mystic circle; it was a proper way of searching after affinities. The rabbis dared not look with indifference upon these mischievous practices, and denounced the Sabbathaists to the Turkish authorities, who investigated the charges and condemned the Sabbathaists to severe punishment. The latter, however, had learned from their first master a means of allaying the anger of the Turkish authorities: All of them, about four hundred, it is said, took the white turban (about 1687). They took, however, their conversion to Islam more seriously than other Jewish apostates. Jacob Querido, their Messiah, with many of his adherents, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, to pray at Mohammed's grave. Upon their return, Jacob died in Alexandria. These New Turks, who lived in Salonica for the most part, formed since that time a separate sect called by the Turks Dönmäh—that is, Renegades. They themselves, holding aloof from Jews and Mohammedans, call themselves Maminim—that is, True Believers. They intermarry only within their own sect, visit a mosque every now and then, to be sure, but meet frequently to worship their redeemer and God-man. Of Judaism they retained only circumcision at eight days, and the Song of Songs whose amatory dialogs and monologs gave them wide scope for mystic interpretations. The Zohar they regard as a particularly holy book, and they select texts for their sermons from it. Querido was succeeded by his son Berechiah, whom they regarded as the embodiment of the original soul of the Messiah, as the deity incarnate.*

Despite these excesses of the Sabbathaists of Salonica that bade defiance to Judaism, that sect found new adherents outside of Turkey, too, who clung tenaciously to their craze, deluded themselves and others, and afforded impostors an opportunity to take advantage of the general credulity. Secret Sabbathaists set out from the Orient, under the guise of messengers from the Holy Land, and from Poland as itinerant preachers, visited the European communities, and set new aberrations in motion. In Poland a new Sabbathaist sect arose that sought to hasten the coming of the kingdom of heaven by means of severe penances. The leaders of this sect were Judah Chasid (the Pious) of Dubno and Hayim Malach, a subtle Talmudist. Both excited the people with their stirring discourses, and found an applauding audience that joined them in their penance and queer cabalistic practices. This society called itself Chasidim. But despite the rabbinic subtlety, ignorance was so prevalent in Poland that the rabbis themselves failed to realize the import and danger of these Sabbathaist vagaries. It was only when Zebi Ashkenasi (Chacham Zebi), who was familiar with the doings of the Sabbathaists, opened their eyes and warned them particularly against Hayim Malach, that the rabbinate of Cracow began to persecute the Chasidim. As a consequence, about thirteen to fifteen hundred members of this sect left Poland, under the leadership of Judah Chasid. Like the Christian Flagellants of old, these so-called "Pious Men" distinguished themselves by frequent fasting and by penances of all kinds. In every German city they passed on their way they preached and summoned the people to repentance. Judah Chasid made a stirring impression, particularly upon the women, by his powerful voice and by his gesticulations and tears.

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* About one thousand families or four thousand souls of this sect exist to this day in Salonica. They are divided into three groups: the Smyrli, named after Sabbathai Zebi of Smyrna; the Jacobites, after Jacob Querido; the third call themselves adherents of Osman Baba, who first made his appearance towards the end of the 18th century. The first group is called Karawayo also. The Jacobites are employed by the Turkish government as officials. These groups do not intermarry. All of them still retain Jewish customs which they observe secretly at their religious assemblies. Their preacher bears the title of Ab-Bet-din, and their precentor that of Paytan.

Upon the arrival of the Chasidim in the Holy Land, the vagaries of this sect came to an end. Judah Chasid died on the first day after his arrival in Jerusalem (Oct., 1700); his adherents remained helpless, and found wretchedness instead of the immediate redemption which they expected. Some members of this sect, because of their sudden disappointment and despair, accepted Mohammedanism; the rest scattered everywhere, and many of them, Judah Chasid's nephew among them, submitted to baptism. Hayim Malach remained in Jerusalem for several years at the head of a small Sabbathaist sect. He, too, taught a dual or triune deity, the incarnation of God, paid Sabbathai Zebi divine honors, and he and his followers are said to have worshipped a wooden image of Sabbathai in the synagog of this sect. Hayim Malach's efforts were directed at the destruction of rabbinic Judaism and of Judaism in general. Banished from Jerusalem on account of his miserable doings, he betook himself to the Dönmäh, the Mohammedan Sabbathaists of Salonica, participated in their excesses, and taught the Sabbathaist vagaries openly. In

Constantinople he was excommunicated, whereupon he returned to Poland, and scattered there the seed of the Sabbathaist heresy that was destined to bear bitter fruit later. He died, it is said, of dipsomania.

Another inveterate Sabbathaist, who set the Jewish camp afire with dissensions, was Nehemiah Hiya Hayun (b. 1650, d. after 1726), who in the eighteenth century which was rich in impostors had but few peers in cunning, dissimulation, impudence and unscrupulousness. He took a special joy in mystifications and fraud, and led an adventurous, merry and hypocritical life from youth to his old age. Having failed in every enterprise, he took up the cabalistic humbug to deceive the world. He wrote a book in which he maintained that Judaism (in its cabalistic garb, of course) taught a triune of God. With this book in his empty sack, he came to Smyrna (Spring, 1708) with the intention of seeking his fortune either among the Sabbathaists or their opponents. But Hayun had hardly settled before the rabbinate of Jerusalem, whose attention was called to the Sabbathaist heresies in his book, excommunicated him and condemned his book to the fire.

Compelled once more to lead the life of a wandering beggar, Hayun came to Italy, where he met with little success. Some recalled his tricks upon the occasion of his former visit to that country. Joseph Ergas, a cabalist of Leghorn, at once recognized Hayun's work as savoring of Sabbathaism. In Venice, however, rabbis and laymen showed him some consideration, and he published a little book in which he asserted openly that the trinity—not, of course, the Christian, but the Sabbathaist trinity—was a dogma of Judaism. He even had the impudence to include in this book a hymn which begins with a pun on an obscene Italian song: "La bella Margarita." And this vicious booklet (Mystery of the Unity, Raza de-Yechuda) was approved and recommended by the Venetian rabbinate, either because they didn't see the book at all before publication or because, in their cabalistic stupidity, they didn't realize its import. In Prague, Hayun found a belief in miracles that proved exceedingly favorable to his schemes. Among his admirers was Jonathan Eibeschütz, who later became famous for his ingenuity and notorious for his Sabbathaist heresies. Hayun wrote amulets which were in great demand, but led a dissolute life in secret at the same time. He finally ventured to submit for publication his heretical work on the trinity to Naphtali Cohen, a famous rabbi and cabalist who then sojourned in Prague, and showed him forged testimonials from Italian rabbis. Naphtali Cohen, in his great admiration for Hayun, gave him a most hearty recommendation for the book, without even looking at it.

Provided with forged and surreptitious recommendations, Hayun imposed upon other communities, too. He spent several months in Berlin, the community of which had grown to a hundred families, consisting of those Jews who stood under royal protection (Schutzjuden) and of those who were allowed temporary residence and were subject to removal upon notice. It so happened that dissensions broke out in the community at that time, in connection with the building of a new synagog as a result, it appears, of a feud between two influential families, that of the widow of the court-jeweler Liebmann, who was popular at the court of Frederick I, and that of Marcus Magnus, who was the "personal Jew" (Leibjude), as it were, of the crown prince. Hayun came to Berlin when the quarrel was at its most violent stage, and utilized it for his own profit. He sided with the weaker, but richer, Liebmann party. Aaron Benjamin Wolf, the then rabbi of Berlin, son-in-law of the court-Jewess Liebmann, treated him with the utmost reverence, and the rogue took advantage of it to publish in Berlin his heretical book, "The Belief of the All" (Mehemnuta de-Cola), the product of a Sabbathaist (some say of Sabbathai Zebi himself), to which he provided two commentaries to the right and left of the text. He hastened with this book to Amsterdam, to make his fortune in the Jewish Eldorado (1702). This gave rise to a violent dissension in Jewry. Hayun, who regarded himself as a member of the Portuguese community of that city, submitted to the Portuguese Board a copy of his book that was printed in Berlin, in order to obtain permission for its sale. It seems that he posed as a Palestinian messenger. But Moses Chages, a messenger from Jerusalem, who happened to be in Amsterdam, protested against the heretical book, and it had to be submitted to an examination. It did not require much searching to discover in it the doctrine of the trinity. Chacham Zebi Ashkenasi, the rabbi of the German community of Amsterdam, whose attention was called by Moses Chages to Hayun's suspicious doctrine, demanded that the Portuguese Board expel the stranger as a heretic. The Board, however, refused to take orders from the rabbi of the Germans, and requested him either to point out the explicitly heretical statements in Hayun's book, or to join an investigating commission to be appointed by the Board. Chacham Zebi flatly declined both requests.

The Portuguese Chacham Solomon Ayllon, who had formerly belonged to the circle of the Sabbathaists in Salonica and who was treated haughtily by the German rabbis, had sufficient cause to feel offended. His own Board had overlooked him in this matter, treated him with suspicion, and in a measure acknowledged his opponent as his superior.

It seems, moreover, that he feared the cunning adventurer, if he were to take a hand in Hayun's persecution, because the latter knew more than was desirable of Ayllon's past and connection with the Sabbathaists of Salonica. It was thus to his interest to protect the impostor. He experienced but little difficulty in prejudicing Aaron de Pinto, a prominent member of the Portuguese Board, who was obstinate and indifferent to the internal problems of the community, against the German Chacham, and in convincing him that it was a question of defending the independence of the important Portuguese community against the presumption of the Germans who had hitherto been subordinated to it. The important question of orthodoxy and heresy was converted into a question of the precedence of the various communal groups. De Pinto vigorously rejected any interference on the part of the German rabbi in this affair that apparently concerned only the Portuguese community, and authorized Ayllon to appoint an investigating commission consisting of Portuguese members only.

While this Partisan commission was apparently engaged in examining Hayun's book, Chacham Zebi, in conjunction with Moses Chages, hastened to pronounce the sentence of excommunication upon Hayun and his heretical book "because he attempted to turn Israel away from his God, and to introduce strange gods (trinity)." None was to have intercourse with him, and his book was to be consigned to the flames. This sentence of excommunication was printed in Hebrew and in Portuguese, and widely distributed (Tammuz, 1713).

The excitement among the Jews of Amsterdam was great as a result of this step. Chacham Zebi and Moses Chages were insulted in the streets and almost maltreated. The irritation increased when the investigating commission reported that it found nothing objectionable or offensive in Hayun's work. Hayun, the prime cause of all this discord, was borne in triumph to the chief synagog where he was literally idolized to spite the opposition.

But Chacham Zebi received help from the outside. Those rabbis with whose alleged recommendations Hayun prefaced his book declared those recommendations forgeries. The deepest impression was made by the letter of the universally honored aged rabbi of Mantua, Leon Brioli, who knew the swindler's unsavory past only too well, unmasked him completely, and joined in condemning his heretical book. The Portuguese, however, remained obdurate. Peace departed from their exemplary community, and families were torn apart by discord. It came so far that Hayun, the stranger, was befriended, while Chacham Zebi was expelled. The latter left Amsterdam, either because de Pinto induced the magistracy to banish him, or he banished himself to avoid a scandalous expulsion (1714). But his opponents, Hayun, Ayllon and de Pinto, could not enjoy their victory. Nearly all German, Italian, Polish and some African communities and their rabbis embraced the cause of the persecuted Chacham Zebi, and fulminated sentences of excommunication against the conscienceless Sabbathaist. All these bulls of excommunication were given wide publicity. The revelations made by witnesses from the countries where his past was only too well known condemned him entirely.

But the Amsterdam Portuguese, either out of a sense of shame or of obstinacy, still refused to abandon him. They realized, however, that Hayun must make some effort to lay the tempest that gathered about him. Accordingly, they enabled him to depart for the Orient and provided him with money and with letters of introduction to influential Jews and Christians who were solicited to aid him in his efforts to have the ban pronounced against him by the rabbis of Constantinople annulled. His journey, however, was beset with thorns; no Jew admitted him into his house or gave him aid and comfort. He wandered through Europe from place to place like Cain. In Constantinople the Jews avoided him and treated him like an outcast. But the letters of introduction he brought with him from Amsterdam gained him access to a vizier. After a lapse of three years three rabbis, probably intimidated by the vizier, removed the ban from him on condition that he never teach, preach or publish anything on cabalistic subjects. Hayun accepted this condition with a solemn oath (Aug., 1724), to break it, of course, on occasion. With a document that attested to his rehabilitation to the Jewish community, he hastened to Europe to embark upon new adventures and impostures.

Meanwhile, the Sabbathaist frenzy broke out in Poland. The seed scattered by the Polish adventurer Hayim Malach on his return from Turkey bore poisoned fruit in Podolia and in the neighborhood of Lemberg. The leaders of this Polish or Podolian Sabbathaist were, in part, former associates of Judah Chasid. But, unlike Judah Chasid, they did not preach penance, but indulged in the wildest excesses, and that, with a pious, world-redeeming air, like a gnostic sect of old. These practices, in violation and in contempt of Talmudic Judaism and morality, they engaged in secretly for a time, but they endeavored to gain adherents, preached and used the cabala and the Zohar as a cloak for their excesses. As their sect increased, they raised their pious mask a little, violated Jewish prescriptions more boldly, and were excommunicated by the rabbis of Lemberg (1722). This, however, did not put a stop to the activity of this sect. Its members were impelled by a fanatic enthusiasm to deride the Talmud, the very life-blood, as it were, of the Polish Jews, and to substitute for it the cabala, with its own Bible, the Zohar. Its leaders sent secret emissaries to Moravia, Bohemia and Germany to get into communication with the secret Sabbathaists of those countries. They passed through many communities undiscovered; for who would suspect these Polish mendicant rabbis who could discuss Talmudic questions and rolled their eyes in a pious manner, of harboring evil in their hearts? At the same time, there was circulated out of Prague a seemingly cabalistic work that hardly had its equal in perversity and blasphemy; the most obscene things were brought in this book in relation with God, in Talmudic and Zoharistic phraseology. This book, too, developed the doctrine of three persons in the deity, and indicated that, from a higher point of view, the Torah and its laws had no significance. Rumor had it that Jonathan Eibeschütz, a young and ingenious Talmudist, was the author of this equally revolting and insipid book.

An accident brought the obscene doings of the Sabbathaists to light. On the ground of the writings found in the possession of one of these emissaries and upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, the rabbis of Frankfort pronounced the most severe sentence of excommunication upon that emissary, his associates and all Sabbathaists. Several other German rabbis joined in this ban, and gave it wide publicity, both through proclamation in the synagogs and through print. Some rabbis were in favor of excommunicating Jonathan Eibeschütz, too, whose connection with the itinerant Sabbathaists was established; this, however, was not carried out, in consideration of his following and his prominent family in Poland. To avert suspicion, Eibeschütz himself pronounced in the synagog the sentence of excommunication upon the Sabbathaists.

Just at this time, Hayun returned to Europe and added to the confusion. To guard himself against persecution, he secretly approached the Christians, gained access to the imperial palaces in Vienna, calumniated the Jews as blind men who reject the true faith, and indicated that he, too, believed in the trinity. This time, however, he did not meet with so kind a reception. Suspicion against secret Sabbathaists and particularly against himself was rife. In Berlin he had to threaten that he would submit to the baptism to the disgrace of the Jews if he did not receive money for his expenses. The poor scoundrel thus dragged himself to Amsterdam in the hope of finding there his former enthusiastic friends; but he was disappointed. All his impostures were brought to light; and he was included in the ban pronounced once more against the Sabbathaists (1726). He could no longer hold his own in Europe, was equally proscribed in the Orient, and betook himself to Northern Africa where he died. His son who had embraced Christianity appeared later as his avenger; and calumniated the Jews with false or half-tone accusations—a dismal suicidal period.

All this shame and disappointment that dreamers and impostors inflicted upon Jewry throughout nearly a whole century, all these wretched occurrences, the work of Sabbathai Zebi and his band of prophets, and the excommunications fulminated against them were powerless to supress the cabalistic Messianic vagary once for all. The bad humors that had been introduced into the organism of Judaism in the course of the ages, appeared on the surface as ugly eruptions. This corruption had already affected vital parts, too. A soulful youth, endowed by nature with glorious gifts, who under normal conditions might have become the pride of Judaism, now, caught in the general demoralization, misused his fine talents because of fantastic vagaries, and promoted the prevailing perversity. One can hardly escape a feeling of sadness at the thought that this charming youth, possessing such noble impulses, should have fallen into aberrations that nearly placed him on a level with the unclean spirits of Malach and Hayun—a richly colored sunbeam that died in a swamp.

Moses Hayim Luzzatto (1707-1747) was a member of a wealthy family of Padua. He mastered early the two ancient languages, Hebrew and Latin, which were a literary necessity in Italy, the former for the Jews and the latter for the Christians. Both fructified his natural talents; the Latin language opened to him the domain of the beautiful, the Hebrew the gates of the sublime. Luzzatto possessed a delicately sensitive poetic soul, an Aeolian harp that set every breath of air in harmoniously musical vibrations. His poetic talent evinces at once power and grace, a wealth of imagination and imagery, coupled with symmetry. Hebrew is usually regarded a dead language; with Luzzatto it was living, fresh, youthful and musical.

Incomparably more gifted than Joseph Penso de la Vega, Luzzatto wrote a biblical drama, "Samson and the Philistines," at the age of seventeen. This youthful work already betokened the master. Before Luzzatto reached the age of twenty, he sang one hundred and fifty psalms, imitations, indeed, of the ancient psalter, but full of fervor and written in a chaste style. At the same time he wrote a second Hebrew drama, "The Tower of Strength, or the Innocence of the Virtuous" (Migdal Oz), in four acts, in pretty versification, musical language, and graceful imagery, but poor in thought, dependent upon Italian models. He was still walking on stilts.

This blessing, the facility and skill of clothing one's own and others' thoughts in original and foreign forms, proved a curse for Luzzatto. One day he was seized by the desire of imitating also the obscure language of the Zohar, and he was as successful in this as in the psalms. This success turned his brain and led him astray. He imagined that his own plastic faculty was not a natural endowment, but, like the Zohar, the product of a higher inspiration. Why should not he, too, be worthy of this divine gift? He labored under the delusion that a divine spirit had revealed to him a profound insight in the cabala, solved the riddles, and entangled the skein. When his mastery in imitating the style of the Zohar became known, some Venetian cabalists sought out the youthful prodigy, and fortified him in his delusion. Moses Chages, who was regarded as an inquisitor, and several rabbis threatened him and the Padua community with the most severe sentence of excommunication if he did not desist from his visionary fancies and mystic doings. But Luzzatto persisted in his delusion that God had chosen him, as He did many before him, to reveal His secrets to him. As long as he enjoyed prosperity, and was surrounded by friends, the Venetian rabbis connived at his mystic activities, but when his family met with reverses and became nearly impoverished, the Venetian rabbinate excommunicated him, and condemned his writings to the fire (1734). The unfortunate exiled dreamer had to leave his home, parents, wife and child, and, what grieved him still more, his cabalistic associates.

Deeply humiliated and disappointed, Luzzatto went to Amsterdam. Here, fortune smiled upon him once more. The Portuguese community received him with open arms, and granted him an allowance. Moses de Chaves, a wealthy Portuguese, extended to him the hospitality of his house, and appointed him tutor to his son. But in order to be independent, he applied himself, like Spinoza, to the art of grinding optical glasses, and this led him to acquire some knowledge of physics and mathematics.

While thus busily occupied with the cabala to satisfy his spiritual cravings, and with the making of lenses to provide for his physical needs, Luzzatto produced a peerless masterpiece of neo-Hebraic poetry, a drama, perfect in form, diction and thought, a monument to his rare endowments. Under the modest form of an epithalamium in honor of the marriage of his pupil, Jacob de Chaves with Rachel da Vega Enriques, he published his dramatic creation, "The Fame of the Virtuous" (La-Yesharim Tehilla). Within recent years the poet was afforded opportunity enough to gather pleasant and unpleasant experiences, to observe the many intricacies of real life, to become sufficiently well acquainted with the multitude that sways like a reed in water, is held in bondage by Deceit, and against whose intractability and want of reason Wisdom itself is powerless; and to see Folly, coupled with Ignorance, make sport of the Sons of Reason, and mock at their activity. Luzzatto had learned from personal experience that Artifice in close alliance with Arrogance rob Merit of its crown and place it on their own heads. He nevertheless cherished the conviction that Merit, misunderstood and reviled, would finally carry the day, and would be rewarded by the hand of Recognition (Fame) if he were only guided by Reason, and its servant, Patience.

These thoughts Luzzatto embodied in his dramatic parable, endowed them with life, and put them in the mouth of his characters, in monologs or dialogs. To be sure, Luzzatto's masterpiece is not a drama in the strict sense. The characters are not flesh and blood, but cold abstractions: Reason and Folly, Merit and Deceit appear on the scene. The dramatic action is slight; the drama is in reality a pretty garland of verses. What service Luzzatto could have rendered Hebrew poetry if he could have freed himself from the shackles of cabalistic vagaries! But the cabala held his spirit captive, and impelled him to move to Palestine shortly after the completion of his drama. In the Holy Land he hoped to be in a position to follow the promptings of his excited imagination without interference, or possibly to play the Messiah. But he had no sooner arrived in Palestine than he fell victim to an epidemic that raged in the Orient, in the fortieth year of his life (1747) and was buried in Tiberias. Fate willed it that the two greatest neo-Hebraic poets, Judah Helevi and Luzzatto sleep their lasting sleep on Hebrew soil.

The aberrations that manifested themselves in Jewry for several centuries, ever since the proscription of science and the victory of the cabala, and that reached their culmination in the false Messiah of Smyrna, did not disappear with the sentence of excommunication passed upon Hayun and the Polish Sabbathaist, but affected a circle hitherto beyond their reach. The rabbinate, engaged in the practical and dialectical interpretation of the Talmud, did not hitherto regard the cabala as of equal importance with the rabbinic law, but only now and then adopted a cabalistic custom surreptitiously, as it were. The Sabbathaist heresy they combated at last, and anathematized it. But one eminent rabbi committed himself to it, attached importance to it, and thus gave rise to a conflict that loosened all discipline, and blunted still more the sense of truth and right. As a result of this confusion, demoralization reached its acme.

Jonathan Eibeschütz or Eibeschützer (b. in Cracow 1690, d. in Hamburg 1764) was a descendant of a Polish cabalistic family. Endowed with an extraordinary keen intellect and a retentive memory, Eibeschütz received the irregular education of his day which supplied him with only two subjects of intellectual activity: the extensive domain of the Talmud with its labyrinthine mazes, and the fascinating cabala with its rocky shoals. The one offered rich nourishment for his sober reason, the other for his unregulated imagination. Nehemiah Hayun seems, in the course of his sojourn in Prague, to have made a deep impression upon the youthful Eibeschütz. He absorbed himself in Abraham Cardoso's writings, though they had been publicly condemned as heretical. He accepted the blasphemous, fundamental doctrine of that and other Sabbathaists which taught that the Supreme God, the first cause, sustains no relation whatever with the universe but that a second person in the deity, called the God of Israel, created the world and revealed the Law to Israel. It seems, however, that he subscribed also to the corollary of this heretical theory, that Sabbathai Zebi was an embodiment of the second person of the deity and that in consequence of his appearance the Torah had lost in importance. But Eibeschütz did not possess strength of character and of conviction enough to reduce his ideas to practice. To break with rabbinic Judaism openly, to declare himself an anti-Talmudist as many Polish Sabbathaists have done, was contrary to his nature. He was too practical, too shrewd, and also too comfortable to expose himself to the inconveniences of such a rupture. Moreover, he loved the Talmud and the rabbinic literature as mental pabulum, and he could not dispense with them.

At the age of twenty-one Eibeschütz was already the head of a Talmudic academy in Prague, and a throng of students, who were fond of keen dialectics, hung on his lips, and admired his interesting method that played with difficulties, as it were. He fascinated his pupils, and inspired them with enthusiasm by his kindly demeanor, sparkling wit and striking sallies. The number of his pupils who came and went increased year by year, and could be counted by the thousands. His widespread reputation as an authority, and the large number of his pupils, protected him against the sentence of excommunication imposed upon the Sabbathaists with whom he was known to be in intimate association.

But the heretical ideas which Eibeschütz entertained in his youth were not entirely forgotten. When a vacancy occurred in the rabbinical office of Metz, upon the death of Rabbi Jacob Backofen (1733), and Eibeschütz sought the appointment, Rabbi Backofen's aged widow appeared before the communal board and warned them not to disgrace the memory of her departed husband and of the other pious rabbis who preceded him by electing as their successor a Sabbathaist heretic. This solemn warning made such a profound impression that Eibeschütz failed of election. However, through the zeal of his admirers, he was elected several years later to the rabbinate of Metz after all. But before he entered upon his duties there broke out the War of the Austrian Succession, or the struggle between the youthful, aspiring Prussia under Frederick the Great, and the already effete Austria under Maria Theresa. A French army, allied with the Prussians and the anti-emperor Charles VII, took possession of Prague. The population of Bohemia and Moravia, systematically reduced to stupidity by the government, labored under the impression that the Jews were treacherously in league with the enemy. A report was spread that Frederick the Great, the Protestant heretic, was a special patron of the Jews. In that part of Moravia where the Prussians had not yet penetrated, the population was seized with a passionate frenzy against the Jews. An Austrian field-marshal in Moravia, who either shared in that delusion or feigned belief in it, issued a decree (1742) to the effect that the small Moravian communities deliver at Brünn fifty thousand Rhenish guldens within six days, "otherwise they would all be plundered and slain." Through the self-sacrificing efforts of two Viennese Jews, Baron de Aguilar and the wealthy Rabbi Issachar Berush Eskeles, Empress Maria Theresa set that decree aside.

Jonathan Eibeschütz, rabbi-elect of Metz, prompted either by conceit, or by the desire to make sure of the rabbinate of Metz, indiscreetly made advances to the French who had entered Prague, and obtained from the French commander a safe conduct to France. But this act excited the suspicion of the Bohemian population that he had a treasonable understanding with the enemy; and when the French withdrew (end of 1744), the Austrian authorities instituted an investigation of his conduct, and confiscated all of his property that had escaped the hands of the pandours. Later on the entire Jewish population of Moravia and Bohemia became involved in the suspicion of treason. The arch-Catholic empress, who was at once genial and callous, issued an edict (Dec. 18, 1744, for Bohemia; Jan. 2, 1745, for Moravia), expelling all the Jews from the two provinces within a short time "for several good reasons"; any Jew found within that territory after the expiration of that time will be "escorted across the border by the military." The authorities proceeded with horrible seriousness to the execution of this edict. The condition of the Bohemian and the Moravian Jews was desperate. Whither should they turn? In the eighteenth century Jews were no longer invited and accepted on account of their capital, as heretofore. Moreover, most of the possessions of the Bohemian and Moravian Jews had been destroyed in the course of the war. Eibeschütz, feeling that he was, in a measure, the cause of their misfortune, endeavored to alleviate their misery. He sent an appeal from Metz to the wealthy Marano communities of Bayonne and Bordeaux for financial help for the unfortunate exiles, and to the Roman communities to intercede with the pope. All this, however, was of little avail. But the efforts of de Aguilar, Berush Eskeles, and other Viennese court-Jews seem to have proven more effective. Christian humanitarians, too, and the ambassadors of Holland, England and other courts, embraced warmly the cause of the exiles at the court of Vienna. The charge of a treasonable understanding with the enemy during the war could easily be disproved. After a resistance of several years, the empress at the suggestion of the states "that as a result of the departure of the Jews the country is threatened with a loss of many millions," granted the Jews provisionally an extension of ten years, but upon demoralizing conditions. Their number was to remain fixed; an attempt should be made to diminish rather than to increase it. Only the oldest son was permitted to marry and to rear a family; in Bohemia twenty thousand and in Moravia fifty-one hundred "Familianten," as they were styled, were tolerated. For this privilege they were required to contribute annually two hundred thousand guldens to the imperial treasury. These restrictions remained in force up to the revolution of 1848. Jonathan Eibeschütz was, justly or unjustly, declared a traitor, and was forbidden ever to set foot on Austrian soil.

Eibeschütz did not feel quite at his ease in the city of Metz, where he officiated for several years as rabbi; he missed there the noisy disputant band of youthful admirers, a large stage on which to display his Talmudic subtlety. Talmudic students from Poland and Germany were not admitted into France in such large numbers. It was therefore pardonable that he made strenuous efforts to obtain the appointment to the rabbinate of the three communities of Altona, Hamburg and Wandsbeck. Through the exertions of his relatives and admirers, and because of his fame as the greatest Talmudist and miracle-worker, his efforts proved successful. Since the Jews of these cities still enjoyed judicial autonomy in civil matters, and were governed by rabbinic law, they were in search of a keenly juridical rabbi and could make no better choice in this respect. But with Eibeschütz's entrance into Altona (beginning of September, 1750) an evil spirit came along that disorganized not only the three communities, but all German and Polish Jewry as well. However, if Eibeschütz was the chief, he was not the sole culprit; the entire tendency of the age was his accomplice.

At the time when Eibeschütz assumed his office, there prevailed a feeling of painful anxiety in the three communities. In the course of a year, eighteen young women had died in labor. Every woman awaiting maternity anticipated the critical hour with ever-increasing dread. The new rabbi was therefore longingly awaited, in the belief that he would banish the destroying angel that chose young women as its victims. If every rabbi was then regarded as a protector against evils of all kinds, as a sort of Magus, the women of Hamburg and Altona expected still more from Jonathan Eibeschütz, whom his admirers had extolled as the greatest rabbi and as a worker of miracles. How was he to meet these anxious expectations?

Even if Eibeschütz had been more candid, he would have had to resort to some mystification in order to maintain his authority in his new office. Accordingly, immediately upon his arrival, he wrote talismans and amulets (Kameas) for the trembling women, and engaged also in other hocus-pocus. Such amulets he had ere now distributed in Metz and in other places. But from those cities the report reached Altona that the wording of Eibeschütz's talismans were entirely different from the ordinary run, that they contained a tinge of the Sabbathaist heresy. Out of curiosity one of his amulets was opened, and this is what it contained: "O God of Israel, who dwellest in the glory of thy might, send thy healing to this woman through the merit of thy servant, Sabbathai Zebi, to the end that thy name and the name of the Messiah Sabbathai Zebi be sanctified throughout the world." One hardly knows at what to marvel most, his foolish belief in and fidelity to the apostate swindler of Smyrna, his impudence, or his careless levity to expose himself in this fashion. He did, indeed, distort the words somewhat and transposed certain letters; but he must have known that the key to this riddle could easily be found. This trick did not remain a secret, of course; the amulets fell into the hands of Jacob Emden (1697-1776), a well-to-do private rabbi of Altona, a son of Chacham Zebi and a hunter of heretics like him. He was convinced that Eibeschütz still adhered to the Sabbathaist heresy; but, glad as he may have been to have found an opportunity for exercising his inquisitorial office, he hesitated at first to take any steps on account of the consequences involved. How could he declare war against a man who enjoyed a reputation far and wide as the most learned Talmudist; whose numerous disciples (more than twenty thousand, it was said) occupied rabbinical and communal offices and other positions of influence and who were ready to form a phalanx about him and to strain every nerve in his defense? But this matter could not be suppressed either. The officials of the community questioned Eibeschütz on the matter of the amulets, and his reply was a miserable evasion; but whether they believed his explanation or not, they had to hush up the matter. When therefore Emden solemnly declared in his synagog that he regarded the writer of the amulets as a Sabbathaist heretic who deserved excommunication, that he did not, indeed, charge the chief rabbi with their authorship, but that the latter was in duty bound to clear himself of all suspicion, the communal board believed itself justified in ordering Emden, the alleged common slanderer, to leave Altona. As Emden refused to obey the order, relying upon the royal privileges which he had received, he was shunned, vexed and subjected to reckless persecutions. This treatment only incited him to still greater zeal. Meanwhile, letters arrived from Metz containing amulets which Eibeschütz had issued there, and the genuineness of which he acknowledged himself, which proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that he had actually revered Sabbathai Zebi as a Messiah and savior.

Little by little several rabbis of German communities condemned the contents of the amulets as Sabbathaist heresies. But in Moravia and in Poland Eibeschütz found partisans. In a number of communities this gave rise to friction and hostilities between his opponents and admirers. At the Council of the Four Countries in Poland, which was to give a decision on this question, riotous scenes ensued. When several rabbis excommunicated Eibeschütz on the charge of heresy, his Polish admirers excommunicated these rabbis in turn because they exposed a Talmudist of the highest rank to slander and contempt. In consequence of the unjust proceedings of the officials of the Altona community against one of his opponents, the latter turned to King Frederick V of Denmark, heir of Holstein (in which duchy Altona was located), and submitted to him a faithful translation of the suspicious amulets. Thereupon the king imposed a fine upon the communal board, and ordered Eibeschütz to vindicate himself against the charge of heresy. Eibeschütz was astute enough, however, to turn the unfavorable decision into a favorable one and to induce the king to put a stop to the trial of the amulet question and to recognize him as rabbi. This, however, only made him new enemies. Several of his adherents, former members of the board, renounced him, and branded him not only as a heretic, but also as an intriguer. These opponents again complained to the king about the dissension in the communities to which he gave rise; they could obtain no impartial decision from him in cases submitted to him for trial because he permitted his judgment to be warped by hatred and passion. The just king finally determined to ascertain fully whether Eibeschütz was really a wicked heretic or an innocent victim of persecution.

With that object in view, the king asked the opinion of Christian professors and theologians who were acquainted with the Hebrew on the question of amulets (beginning of 1755). This turn of affairs made Eibeschütz uneasy. To prove his innocence, he wrote an apology (Luchoth Eduth: Tablets of Testimony, 1756), in which he disclaimed all responsibility for the dissensions, blamed them on the ambitions of the zealot Emden, asserted that the majority of the rabbis of Germany, Moravia, Bohemia, Poland, Italy and Turkey believe him innocent, and maintained that the suspected amulets were entirely free from heresies, but that his enemies forced strange interpretations into them and forged some of them. But this quarrel assumed a new aspect when David Frederick Megerlin, a professor and Protestant pastor, published a book, apparently in Eibeschütz's defense (beginning of 1756). This book saved Eibeschütz in the eyes of the king, but stigmatized him all the more in the eyes of the Jews. Megerlin claimed he discovered the key to Eibeschütz's enigmatic amulets; the contested letters which his opponents construed as referring to Sabbathai Zebi are nothing else but mystic allusions to Jesus Christ. Megerlin maintained that the chief rabbi of Altona and Hamburg secretly inclined to the Christian faith, but dared not come out in the open for fear of the Jews. He asked the king of Denmark to protect Eibeschütz from persecution on the part of the Jews and to shield him particularly against the slanders of Jacob Emden, who hated the Christian in Eibeschütz just as Emden's father had hated the secret Christian Hayun. Megerlin foolishly but earnestly urged Eibeschütz to throw off the mask, to resign the rabbinate and to accept baptism. On this occasion, he addressed an open letter to the Jews to summon a general conference of rabbis and to do reverence to Christianity. Had Eibeschütz possessed one spark of self-respect, he would have felt called upon to refute the imputation of secret inclinations to Christianity, even at the risk of losing the king's favor. He held his peace, however, but turned that imputation to his advantage. Megerlin's arguments, foolish as they were, convinced King Frederick. He set aside Eibeschütz's suspension from office, and decreed that the Jews of the Altona community must yield him obedience (1756). The Senate of Hamburg, too, acknowledged him again as the rabbi of the German community. Eibeschütz triumphed. His admirers celebrated his vindication with great ceremony. The six-years conflict that so stirred up all the hideous passions of the Jews from Lorraine to Podolia and from the Elbe to the Po, ended apparently with a dance. At the same time, however, Eibeschütz sustained a defeat in another quarter which stigmatized him in the eyes of those who still defended and supported him.

On a previous occasion, while Eibeschütz was in desperate straits, he had secretly appealed to an apostate, Carl Anton, a former pupil of his whose Jewish name was Gerson Cohen (of Mitau, Courland), to write an apology for him in German. Carl Anton complied with his request, extolled Eibeschütz as the most learned Jew of his day both in rabbinic and secular knowledge, branded Emden as a man given to dissensions out of jealousy and hatred, and maintained, above all, that Sabbathaism was absolutely a thing of the past, that not a single Jew was left who believed Sabbathai's Messiahship, and, least of all, such a great scholar as Rabbi Jonathan (1752). As though the facts were to give the lie to Carl Anton's assertion that Sabbathaism was dead, that monster just then raised its Medusa's head, and hissed with its venomous mouth at the adherents of Talmudic Judaism. The seed sown in Poland by Hayim Malach bore fruit despite the rabbinical authorities. The sentences of excommunication merely made the Sabbathaists more cautious, but they carried on their practices in secret and made converts. Several cities of Podolia were full of Talmudists who entertained Sabbathaist theories, scorned the Talmud, violated the laws of Judaism and indulged in vicious practices under the guise of piety. The dissensions between the followers of Eibeschütz and those of Emden which reëchoed also in Poland where one party denounced and persecuted the other, encouraged the Podolian Sabbathaists to venture forth from their hiding places and to raise their mask a little. They soon found a courageous leader, and with his appearance a new, odious movement was born that created great excitement and despair among all the Jews of Poland.

This leader was the notorious Jacob Frank, or, as his real name was, Jacob Leibowitz (born in a small town in Podolia about 1726, died 1791), one of the most cunning and fraudulent characters of the eighteenth century, even more sly and audacious than Hayun, who succeeded in deceiving the shrewdest men and so to cover up his frauds that many admired him after his death as an eminent man, and made of him a romantic hero. The art of deception he acquired at a very early age. He himself boasted later of how he cheated his father. In the course of his travels through Turkey, he entered into connection with the Sabbathaists, or the Jewish Moslems, the Dönmäh, of Salonica. He became a Mohammedan, as he afterward became a Roman and Greek Catholic, so long as it suited his purpose. He changed his religion as one changes his coat. From his long residence in Turkey, he received the name of Frank or Frenk (a designation applied by the Turks to all Europeans). He gave a cabalistic interpretation to the Messianic perversity, which maintained that the successive Messiahs were not visionaries or frauds, but the incarnation of one and the same Messianic soul. King David, Elijah, Mohammed, Sabbathai Zebi and his successors to Berechiah were solely one and the same intrinsic personality that merely assumed different bodily tenements. Why should he not himself be the incarnation of the Messiah? He succeeded in surrounding himself with a mystic halo. Conditions were unusually favorable. He acquired some wealth, and married a very beautiful woman of Nicopolis whom, it is said, he utilized as a lure for adherents. He gradually gathered about him a small following of Turkish and Wallachian Jews, who shared his dissolute principles and who regarded him as a higher being.

Frank, it seems, had received news of the discord that disrupted the Jewish communities of Poland as a result of the dissensions that centered about Eibeschütz and believed the time opportune to gather about him the Podolian Sabbathaists, and to gain prominence among them as well as through them. He suddenly came to Poland (Nov., 1755), and visited many cities where the secret Sabbathaists lived. They fell into each other's arms, as it were. Frank was in search of a following, and they of a leader. To them Frank revealed himself as Sabbathai's successor, or, what amounted to the same thing, as the reincarnated soul of the Sabbathaist chief, Berechiah. He had his adherents style him "the Holy Lord." By virtue of his being a part of the Godhead, the Messiah had the power to accomplish anything, including the performance of miracles. His followers whom he had brought with him and who gathered about him in Poland believed that he had actually performed miracles. They were so firmly convinced of his divine nature that they addressed mystic prayers to him in the language of the Zohar, in the same formulas which the Dönmäh of Salonica used to address Jacob Querido and Berechiah. In a word, out of the Podolian Sabbathaists, Frank organized a sect of his own that was named after him Frankists. It was a peculiar sect. Its founder taught his adepts to acquire wealth even in deceitful and crooked ways. Their chief object was to destroy rabbinic Judaism, to declare war upon the Talmud, and abolish it. This task filled them with passion. The Zohar, they taught, was opposed to the Talmud, and they revered Simon ben Yohai, the alleged revealer of the Zohar, as one who combated the Talmud in the days of old. The Talmud they regarded as a falsifier of Judaism. The Zohar alone contained the true Law of Moses. For this reason, Frank's adherents called themselves Zoharists and Contra-Talmudists (Anti-Talmudists). With a certain childish spite they did the very things which rabbinic Judaism strictly interdicted, even with reference to marriage and the laws of morality. Among these Anti-Talmudists there were also rabbis and so-called preachers, such as Judah Leib Krysa, rabbi of Nadworna, and Nahman ben Samuel Levi, rabbi of Busk. Elisha Shor of Rohatyn, a man already advanced in years, a descendant of prominent Polish rabbis, was particularly held in high esteem by the Anti-Talmudists or Frankists. He, his sons, his daughter Chayah (who knew the Zohar by heart, behaved defiantly, and was regarded as a prophetess), his grand-children and his sons-in-law, all had been ardent Sabbathaists ere this, who took delight in mocking at rabbinic laws.

One day Frank with about twenty of his followers was surprised in a conventicle in the small town of Lantzkoron (in the government of Kemenetz-Podolsk). During a fair the Frankists locked themselves in an inn that was conducted by one of their associates and barred the gate of the court that they might indulge in their practices without interruption. What did they have to conceal? The Frankists asserted that all they did was to sing certain songs in the language of the Zohar. Their opponents maintained, on the other hand, that they had performed an orgiastic dance about a half-nude woman and kissed her. This secrecy directed the attention of the Jews of Lantzkoron and of visitors who had come to the fair to Frank and his followers. Many Jews gathered about the inn to force an entrance, and notified the police that a Turk had stolen into Podolia with the object of converting the Jews to Mohammedanism and of tempting them to emigrate to Turkey, and that those who had joined him were leading an adamitic—that is, a lewd—life. The police thereupon forced an entrance into the inn, and broke up the nest of the Frankists. Frank, as a foreigner, had to be set free, but the Podolian Frankists were taken into custody. This incident caused a commotion, and was possibly exaggerated on purpose. The news that some Jews dared show contempt for all religion and morality in Poland spread like wildfire throughout Polish Jewry. The rabbis and leaders at once applied the usual means employed against offenders—anathemas and persecutions. The disguised heretics were ferreted out. By virtue of heavy bribes, the Polish authorities assisted the persecutors. The Frankists, who were in a desperate situation, repented and made open confession of their misdeeds, which, whether they were literally true or exaggerated, present a dismal picture of the degeneracy of a large body of Polish Jews. Several men and women confessed, in an open session of the rabbinate of Satanow, that they themselves and others had practised lewdness, adultery, incest and other shameless deeds, and all this in accordance with a mystic cabalistic theory.

In consequence of this testimony, a solemn decree of excommunication, accompanied by the extinguishing of burning candles and the blowing of the shophar, was pronounced in Brody (1756) against the Frankists. None must intermarry with them; their sons and daughters were to be regarded as bastards, born in adultery; and that even those who were merely under suspicion must not be permitted to occupy any religious office, or act as teachers. This anathema was repeated in several communities; the formula was printed and widely distributed, and was to be read in the synagog every month. This sentence of excommunication contained one point of great import: No one under thirty years of age was permitted to occupy himself with the cabala, or to read the Zohar or any other mystic work. Distress thus finally opened the eyes of the rabbis to recognize the impure elements that poisoned the blood of the Jewish race since Luria's day. This recognition was acquired at a great cost; it came too late. Distress led them to another recognition, too. The members of the synod of Constantinople turned in their embarrassment to Jacob Emden, who became the acknowledged representative of pure orthodoxy ever since his quarrel with Eibeschütz, and expressed the wish that an educated Portuguese (Jew) might come to Poland, who, by virtue of his solid knowledge and eloquence, could plead their cause with the authorities and priesthood and assist them in suppressing the dangerous Frankish sect. They finally realized that the secular knowledge which they had hitherto despised was of value, after all. Jacob Emden, who was touched by the cry of distress of his Polish brethren, was likewise led to a conviction that was fraught with great importance for the future. The Sabbathaists, as well as the Anti-Talmudists, always appealed to the Zohar, as to a book regarded as sacred from time immemorial as to a Bible of a new dispensation. They exterminated all their vices and shameless doings by means of quotations from the Zohar. What if the Zohar were a forgery? The untoward occurrences in Poland led him to a careful examination of the Zohar, and he became convinced that at least a portion of the Zohar was the production of an impostor.

To the question whether it was permitted to persecute the Frankists, Jacob Emden replied in a decided affirmative. His encouragement, however, was really superfluous. When an opportunity for persecution presented itself in Poland, there was no lack of desire to do it. The Frankists were denounced to the authorities and to the priests as a new sect, and turned over to the Catholic inquisition. Bishop Nicholas Dembowski of Kamenetz-Podolsk, in whose diocese they were caught in their devious paths, was rather inclined to set up stakes for them. But Frank's cunning enabled him to ward off the missiles aimed at his followers and to hurl them against his enemies. He advised his followers to lay stress on two points in their defense: that they believed in a trinity, and that they rejected the Talmud as a work that was full of errors and blasphemies. He suggested that twenty or thirty of them quickly submit to baptism in order to lend greater emphasis to their assertions. To Frank a change of religion was a trifling matter. But the rabbinic Jews of the neighborhood got wind of Frank's secret meeting with his followers, organized a band, fell upon them, and led them to prison after maltreating them. This proceeding exasperated the Anti-Talmudists still more, and they determined to avenge themselves on their enemies. They did not, it is true, care to submit to baptism, but they declared before the tribunal of Bishop Dembowski that they were almost Christians since they believed in a trinity, and that they were persecuted just on account of their superior religion. To prove their complete rupture with Judaism, or to avenge themselves on their enemies in a downright bloody manner, they resorted to the slander that the adherents of the Talmud use Christian blood and that the Talmud inculcates the murder of Christians as a religious duty. How easy it was to prove these charges! A Christian child need only disappear. Something like this must then have occurred in Yampol (Podolia), and the most prominent Jews of the little town were at once thrown into chains. Bishop Dembowski and his chapter, happy in making such a catch, countenanced the Frankists because of their statements, released them from prison, permitted them to settle in his diocese of Kamenetz and to live in accordance with their own principles and nourished with satisfaction their hatred of the Talmudic Jews. The new sect turned from a victim of persecution into a persecutor.

To drive their enemies to despair, the Frankists requested Bishop Dembowski (1757) to arrange for a disputation between themselves and the Talmudists, and offered to prove on the one hand that their dogma of the trinity is based upon the Bible and the Zohar, and on the other that the Talmud was an abominable book. They submitted a confession of faith in which special stress was laid on the statement that the Talmud contains the most outrageous things, and teaches "that Jews are permitted to deceive and kill Christians." The scenes were to be repeated in Poland that were enacted in Spain at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the neophyte Geronimo de Santa-Fé, in the presence of Pope Benedict XIII, when an apostate Jew poured forth venom at his coreligionists and the Talmud. In that case, however, the accuser was a layman; in the present instance, it was rabbis with beards and caftans, using rabbinic and cabalistic phrases, repulsive in appearance and manner, who, prompted by feelings of vengeance, assumed the mask of Catholicism in order to be in a position to persecute their enemies with all the greater energy. The representatives of the Polish communities, the "Council of the Four Lands," felt keenly in this desperate situation the absence of education in their midst. They could not produce a single man who was able cleverly or even intelligently to expose the jugglery of the Frankists and the hollowness of their creed.

Bishop Dembowski thereupon issued an order to the effect that the Talmudists send deputies to a disputation to be held in Kemenetz on pain of punishment and the burning of the Talmud (1757). In vain did the Polish Jews refer to their ancient privileges, seek the protection of the nobles, and spend large sums of money. They had to send delegates to the disputation and face their despised enemies. What, after all, could the representatives of the Talmud, with their ignorance of worldly maters and with their stuttering speech, advance against the impudent charges of the Frankists, particularly so when they, too, regarded the Zohar as a sacred book, and that book actually taught a sort of trinity? At the disputation the Talmudists stood convicted. Bishop Dembowski publicly announced (October 4, 1757) that, inasmuch as the Anti-Talmudists had written down and proven the main point of their creed, they are given the right to dispute with the Talmudic Jews everywhere. He ordered the Talmudic Jews to pay the Frankists five thousand Polish guldens as damages, and one hundred and fifty-four golden ducats for the benefit of the cathedral of Kamenetz. He had the Frankists, with the assistance of the police, make a search for copies of the Talmud in the cities of his bishopric. These (about one thousand copies) were brought to Kamenetz, thrown into a pit, and burned at the hand of the executioner. As King Augustus III of Poland, or rather his minister, Count Brühl, had his hands full in coping with the political situation at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, he paid little attention to the internal affairs of the country, and Bishop Dembowski was thus supreme. The Talmudists were helpless; they could only sigh, weep and call for a strict fast to mourn "The Burning of the Torah." This time the cabala applied the torch to the stake set up for the Talmud.

The sudden and unnatural death of Bishop Dembowski (Nov. 17, 1757) brought about a change in the state of affairs. The persecution of the Talmud ceased at once, and turned against the Frankists. As a result, six Frankists, upon Frank's advice, presented themselves before the archbishop Wratislaw Lubienski of Lemberg, with the declaration "in the name of all" that they were all inclined to accept baptism under certain conditions. In their petition they assumed an air of monkish piety and breathed vengeance against their former coreligionists. They asked for a new disputation with the Talmudists and offered to prove that "the Talmudists shed more innocent Christian blood than the heathens do." Lubienski had this petition of the Frankists published, both to announce the victory of the Church and to hold the adherents of this sect to their word; but he took no further action in the matter and did not entertain the idea of instituting a religious disputation.

The state of affairs changed once more when Lubienski departed for his archiepiscopal seat at Gnesen, and the Canon de Mikulicz Mikulski, the administrator of the arch-bishopric of Lemberg, evinced a greater proselytizing zeal. He immediately assured the Frankists that he would arrange for a religious disputation between them and the Talmudists if they showed a sincere inclination to accept baptism. When Leib Krysa and Solomon Shor, the delegates of the Frankists, made a Catholic confession in the name of their entire sect, Mikulski, without consulting Serra, the papal nuncio at Warsaw, made arrangements for a second disputation at Lemberg (June, 1759). The rabbis of this diocese were ordered, on pain of a heavy fine, to appear on the 16th of July. The nobility and the priesthood were requested to use force, if necessary, to bring about their attendance. Serra, the papal nuncio at Warsaw, to whom the Jews appealed for help, was rather dissatisfied with the disputation, but did not prevent it in order to convince himself on that occasion whether the Jews really used Christian blood. This point seemed to him the most important of all. Just at this time Pope Clement XIII issued a favorable opinion on this question. Jacob Jelek, an unassuming, self-sacrificing Polish Jew, had undertaken the difficult journey to Rome to obtain from the Holy See a momentous expression against this eternal blood accusation; and the pope had declared that the Holy See had investigated the evidence upon which the blood accusation is based, and had found that the Jews must not be condemned as criminals on that account, but that, in case of similar occurrences, investigations should be made in accordance with legal procedure. And yet, misled by the baseness of the Frankists, the papal nuncio, at this very time, believed in a measure in this lie, and reported to the curia on this subject.

The religious disputation that was to lead to the conversion of so many Jews began to excite attention. The Polish nobility, lords and ladies, paid a high price for tickets of admission, the proceeds of which were to be used for the benefit of the poor neophytes. At the appointed day, the Talmudists and the Frankists were conducted to the cathedral of Lemberg; the administrator Mikulski presided. It was a rare spectacle to see Jews accuse one another of the most abominable vices. The disputation turned out a miserable affair. Of the Frankists, who boasted that hundreds of their sect would be present, only ten appeared. The Talmudists, in fear of a heavy fine, sent forty delegates. The representatives of Talmudic Judaism stood awkward and embarrassed, and could not utter a word. They did not even understand the vernacular (though, as a matter of fact, their opponents understood it just as little); interpreters had to be employed. The Talmudists found themselves, at best, in a very embarrassing position. The Frankists maintained that the Zohar taught the doctrine of the Trinity, and that one person of the deity had become flesh. Could the Talmudists refute this dogma without offending the Christians, their masters? That similar ideas are contained in the Zohar they could not deny either. One may well believe that the Talmudic spokesmen returned to their homes, after a three days' disputation, in shame and confusion. Even the blood accusation remained clinging to their religion.

The Zoharites were meanwhile urged by the priests to accept baptism at last, but they still hesitated, and did so only upon the explicit command of their chief, Frank, and in his presence. Frank himself made his appearance amidst great pomp, in gorgeous Turkish dress, in a carriage drawn by six horses, and surrounded by guardsmen in Turkish dress. He wished to impress Poland. Altogether about a thousand Frankish Sabbathaists accepted baptism on that occasion. Frank did not have himself baptized in Lemberg, but appeared in Warsaw amidst dazzling pomp (Oct., 1759), excited the curiosity of the Polish capital, and succeeded in inducing the king to act as his godfather.

The columns of the Warsaw newspapers were full of reports of the baptism of so many Jews that occurred daily and of the high noblemen and noble ladies who acted as their god-parents. But Frank was watched with suspicious eyes by the priesthood. They did not repose much confidence in him, and suspected in him an impostor who, under the guise of Christianity, as formerly under that of Islam, wished to gain prominence as the head of a sect. His Polish adherents were secretly questioned about his doings, his past and his aims, and several of them finally betrayed him and informed the ecclesiastical authorities that his acceptance of Christianity was a mere sham and that he was himself worshipped by his sectarians as a Messiah, God incarnate, and Holy Lord. He was arrested and examined by the officials of the Polish inquisition, and the testimony adduced confirmed his fraudulent practices still more. He was sent to the Fortress of Czenstochow and shut up in a cloister (1760). The fact that the king was his god-father alone saved him from the stake as a heretic and renegade. Some of his followers were condemned to work in the trenches of the fortress of Czenstochow, and others were ordered to return to their native places. Many Frankists had to beg at the church doors, and were despised by the Polish population. But they remained loyal to their Messiah, their Holy Lord. They gave their untoward experiences a cabalistic interpretation: Everything had to happen as it did. The cloister of Czenstochow they called mystically the "Gate of Rome." Outwardly they adhered to Catholicism and participated in all sacraments; but clung to one another, and, like the Dönmäh of Turkey, intermarried only within their own circles. To this day, some of their descendants in Poland, the families of Wolowski, Dembowski, Dzalinski and others are distinguished as Frenks or Shabs (Sabbathaists). After an imprisonment of thirteen years (1771), Frank was set at liberty by the Russians, accepted the Greek-Catholic faith, continued his impostures for twenty years in Vienna, Brünn, and finally in Offenbach as a baron, set up his daughter Eve as an incarnation of the deity, and deceived everybody and particularly his credulous dupes of Frankfort-on-the-Main to the very end of his life, and even after his death.

Upon the shoulders of Jonathan Eibeschütz must rest a portion of the responsibility for all these miserable events. The Frankists regarded him, the great rabbi, as one of their own, and he did nothing to clear himself of this stigmatizing suspicion. He was supplicated to come to the assistance of the Polish Jews in their distress, to protest against the blood accusation. But he remained silent, as though he feared to incur the enmity of the Frankists. His youngest son Wolf was in communication with the venomous Frankist, Solomon Shor-Wolowski, perpetrated mystic frauds as an alchemist, lived in great style, obtained the title of Baron of Adlersthal by trickery, because he had promised the Austrian court to accept Christianity, deceived everybody, and possibly his father above all, incurred debts, and was persecuted by creditors and believers. The rabbinate split in two parties which hurled anathemas at each other, brought disgrace upon itself and undermined its own authority. It thus loosened the soil, and enabled it to produce better seed. At the very time when Eibeschütz was wrangling with his opponents about the amulet scandal, Mendelssohn and Lessing formed an alliance of friendship that proved advantageous not to the Jews alone.

It is curious indeed that the scholarly world of Germany should have taken an interest in this disagreeable quarrel between Eibeschütz and Emden. The German journals that rose into prominence under Frederick the Great reported the progress of this rare event in a not unfriendly spirit. It was, of course, an unusual phenomenon that an eminent rabbi should be accused of heresy and condemned on many sides.

In England and in France two incidents called public attention to the Jews, their character, their present and past; the attempt to give them a legal status in England, and Voltaire's attacks upon them. In England where they had stolen in, as it were, a century ago, and particularly in its capital, the Jews composed a secluded society without being tolerated or recognized by an explicit law. They were regarded merely as foreigners, as Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutch or Germans, and had to pay an alien duty. Only exceptionally rich and prominent members of the Portuguese community were enfranchised by the king. The others were exposed to annoyances now and then, fined because they did not attend church or because they violated a paragraph of the tax laws. Those who had immigrated from Germany and Poland and who were regarded with contempt even by their Portuguese coreligionists, fared worst of all. Nevertheless, the authorities, and particularly the judges, took their Jewish faith into consideration, and did not, for instance, summon Jewish witnesses on a Sabbath. After the small number of Jews who had settled in the American colonies of England were naturalized, merchants and manufacturers, urged on, to be sure, by Jews and their friends, petitioned the parliament to admit the Jews to citizenship in England too, without the necessity of partaking of the holy communion as a legal qualification. Prime Minister Pelham supported the petition, and laid stress upon the advantages that would accrue to the country from the considerable capital of the Portuguese, and from their warm loyalty to England. But there developed an opposition prompted partly by selfish motives and partly by religious prejudices. The Jews, placed on an equal footing with the citizens, would get possession of the entire wealth of the country, would acquire all landed property, dispossess the Christians, and reduce them to slavery, and even elect their own king. In accordance with Christian prophecies, the Jews must remain without a fatherland until they are gathered in the land of their fathers. But surprising as it may seem, a bill passed the House of Lords naturalizing all Jews who had lived in England or Ireland for three years continuously, but without the right of holding public office or of voting in parliamentary elections. The lords and the bishops were thus not prejudiced against the Jews. This bill passed the House of Commons, too, and was enacted into law by King George II (March, 1753). It seems, however, that this parliamentary act did not meet with popular approval. From the pulpits, guilds and public houses imprecations were hurled at the ministry that brought about the enfranchisement of the Jews. Deacon Turker, a clergyman who had defended the naturalization of the Jews, was villified by the opposition in parliament, in the newspapers, and in pamphlets, was personally maltreated, and was burned in effigy in Bristol, together with his apology for the Jews. To the chagrin of the liberal-minded, the ministry yielded to the clamor, the product of envy and fanatic intolerance, and abrogated the law (1754). Inasmuch as even the most violent opponents of this law could not speak ill of the Jews of England, the failure of enfranchisement had no unfavorable effect upon them.

The second incident, though instigated by only one person, created more comment about the Jews than the parliamentary proceedings in England. Arouet de Voltaire, the literary autocrat of the eighteenth century, who with his demoniacal laughter blew down like a house of cards the best of medievalism that still stood out prominent, a philosopher in his writings, in real life a fool, a slave to the lowest passions, fell out with the Jews, and held them and their past up to ridicule. This hostility was the result of a personal grudge against an individual Jew. During his stay in London, he claimed he lost twenty thousand francs in the failure of the Jewish capitalist de Medina, and, sordid miser that he was, he hated on this account not only this particular Jew, but all Jews. Another incident increased his irritation against them still more. When Voltaire was in Berlin and in Potsdam, serving in the capacity of court poet, reviser and chamberlain of King Frederick II, he gave a Jewish jeweler by name of Hirsch, or Hirschal (1750), a dirty commission which he tried to cancel later at the advice of Ephraim Veitel, an avaricious money-grabber. This led to a friction between Voltaire and Hirsch. Voltaire perpetrated a series of nasty, knavish tricks upon his Jewish agent, defrauded him out of diamonds, mistreated him, lied, forged documents, and acted through it all as though he were being defrauded. This led to a complicated law-suit. King Frederick, who examined the records in the case and an indictment against Voltaire, was extremely indignant at the poetic and philosophic rogue. He wrote a comedy against him in French verse, which he called "Tantalus on Trial." Voltaire's quarrel with a Prussian Jew excited attention, and supplied his enemies with ample material for malicious joy. Voltaire determined therefore to avenge himself on the entire Jewish people. Whenever he had occasion to speak of Judaism and the Jews, he calumniated with his nasty satire both the Jewish antiquity and the Jews of the present. This also fitted in with his tactics. As he could not attack Christianity too openly without exposing himself to severe punishment, he utilized Judaism, the mother of Christianity, as his target, and hurled against it winged, delicate, but all the more venomous darts. In an article in the "Encyclopedia," in particular, he vented his spleen upon the Jews and Judaism.

This condemnation of an entire people and its past that pointed back to gray antiquity aroused the indignation of many lovers of truth, but none ventured to enter the lists with so redoutable an antagonist. But Isaac Pinto (b. in Bordeaux 1715, d. in Amsterdam 1787), an educated Portuguese Jew of Marano descent, finally appeared as his people's champion. Pinto was rich, noble and unselfish in his own affairs, but suffered from a pardonable class egotism. He had moved from Bordeaux to Amsterdam, had rendered the Portuguese community essential services, advanced the government of Holland considerable sums of money, and therefore occupied a position of eminence. But his sympathies were limited to his Portuguese coreligionists; upon German and Polish Jews he looked with indifference, even with a contemptuous pride. In the disagreeable quarrels in which the Portuguese community of Bordeaux involved itself, he evinced at once an ardent zeal in behalf of the former and a hard-heartedness toward the latter. The majority of the members of the Portuguese community of Bordeaux conducted important banking houses, engaged in the manufacture of arms, or in maritime commerce with the French colonies. The firm of Gradis was widely known for its shipping and wholesale trade. With their fame as wholesale traders and ship owners, the Portuguese of Bordeaux combined absolute honesty and integrity in the conduct of their business affairs, generosity to Jew and non-Jew, and a noble demeanor which they brought with them from the Pyrenean Peninsula, and gained, in consequence, respect and distinction among the Christian population. But Bordeaux, as a commercial emporium, attracted also German Jews from Alsace which had been ceded to France, and French Jews from the papal state of Avignon, who obtained the right of residence by the expenditure of considerable sums of money. The Portuguese Jews, fearing that the presence of these newcomers, who possessed little education and engaged in retail trading and petty financial operations, would belittle their own standing in the city, endeavored to accomplish the banishment from Bordeaux of the German Jews who had immigrated from Germany and Avignon, referring to the ancient edict that denied the Jews the right of residence in France. But the exiles succeeded in obtaining the protection of influential courtiers, and in gaining the right of residence. This proved repugnant to the Portuguese. To thwart the immigration of foreign Jews, the Portuguese community adopted (1760) a most narrow-minded statute that was to place the fate of foreign coreligionists in their hands. At the outset they branded all Jews who were not of Portuguese origin as vagrants and beggars, vilified them as engaged in dishonorable and fraudulent transactions, and thus prejudiced the people and the authorities against them. This statute demanded that the Portuguese Jews or their Board be given the power to expel such foreign Jews or "vagrants" from the city within three days. This heartless regulation had first to be approved by Louis XV, but it was not so very difficult to gain the approval of this king, who was ruled by women and courtiers, even to the most cruel law.

This task was undertaken by Isaac Pinto's friend and compatriot Rodrigues (Jacob) Pereira (born in Spain 1715, died in Paris 1780), a man of considerable fame. Pereira came upon the idea of inventing a manual alphabet for deaf-mutes, and of instructing these unfortunates in the means of giving expression to their thoughts. The suffering which his mother, accused in Spain of the crime of being a Jewish heretic, had to endure for a whole year at the door of the church, induced her to leave the land of the inquisition with her family (1740) and to emigrate to Bordeaux. In this city Pereira opened a special school for deaf-mutes, and his theory of instruction, advanced prior to that of the abbot de l'Epée, proved so successful that the king conferred a reward upon him and the most eminent men of science (d'Alembert, Buffon, Diderot and Rousseau) sang his praises. Pereira was later appointed royal interpreter, and was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Science in London. The Portuguese community of Bordeaux had appointed him its agent in Paris to look after its interests. This man, though impelled by pity for the unfortunates, permitted himself, prompted likewise by class egotism, to bring misfortune upon his coreligionists who had come to Bordeaux from Germany and Avignon. Through his efforts, the king confirmed the heartless regulation adopted by the Portuguese community. Since, however, under the lax system of government that prevailed at the French court, a wide gulf separated the issuance of an order from its execution, the expulsion of the foreign Jews from Bordeaux depended ultimately upon the Duke de Richelieu, the governor of Bordeaux. Isaac Pinto, who stood on terms of friendship with the governor, succeeded in inducing Richelieu to issue a stringent order (Nov., 1761), expelling all foreign Jews from Bordeaux within fourteen days. These unfortunates were driven into all the greater misery since Jews were not permitted to settle anywhere else in France, and other districts and cities where they were tolerated admitted no new immigrants.

The heartless procedure of the Portuguese Jews against their brethren in Bordeaux attracted great attention. If Jews were not permitted to live in

France, why were the Portuguese-speaking Jews tolerated? The latter found it necessary, therefore, to present themselves in a more favorable light, and prevailed upon Isaac Pinto, who possessed a literary training, to write a sort of an apology for them, in which he was to call attention to the wide gulf that separated the Portuguese Jews from their coreligionists of other countries. With this object in view, he began with reflections on Voltaire's disparagement of Jews and Judaism (Reflexions Critiques, etc., Amsterdam, 1762). He tells this unprincipled calumniator that the vice of defaming individuals assumes larger proportions when the defamation is applied to an entire nation, and reaches its highest degree of wickedness when it holds the entire people responsible for the faults of individuals. A Jew of Bordeaux and a Jew of Metz seem to be two entirely different beings, but Voltaire condemns them all, and presents them in a light which is as detestable as it is untrue. He who pretended that it was his mission to eradicate prejudice was the very man who had lent his pen to the blindest prejudice. "The Jews are not more ignorant, more barbaric, more superstitious than other nations." Pinto is concerned solely with presenting his kinsmen, the Portuguese or Sephardic Jews, in a more favorable light, and emphasized the fact that there was a wide gulf separating the Portuguese from others, particularly from the German and Polish Jews. The Portuguese Jews were descendants of the noblest families of the tribe of Judah, and this descent had given them, from time immemorial in Spain and in Portugal, an impulse to great virtues, and proved a shield against vice and baseness. The German and Polish Jews, on the contrary, Pinto spared but little, though he excuses their not very honorable occupations and their contemptible appearance on the ground of the frequent sufferings, the enslavement and humiliations which they have endured and still endure. Pinto, at any rate, accomplished his purpose. In his reply, Voltaire complimented him and the Portuguese Jews, admitted that he was wrong in including them in his condemnation, but continued to vilify the entire Jewish antiquity just the same.

Pinto's apology attracted attention. The French and English journals received it favorably, and sided with the Jews against Voltaire's disparagements. Some, however, criticized Pinto for his partiality to the Portuguese Jews and for his condemnation, almost like Voltaire's, of the entire German and Polish Jewry for the faults of a few. There appeared "Jewish Letters" addressed to Voltaire, presumably by Portuguese and German Jews, that were well meant but poorly expressed. These "Letters" were widely read, and assisted in gaining the support of public opinion for the Jews and their cause against Voltaire's malicious attacks.

The vainglory of the Portuguese Jews, however, aroused a certain animosity against them. There appeared in France (1767) a hostile booklet, "A Request of the Merchants' Guilds Against Allowing the Jews to Enjoy Their Privileges," which was directed particularly against the Portuguese of Bordeaux. The charge was raised against them that they were enjoying their ancient privileges under a misrepresentation. Those privileges were conferred by Henry II and his successors solely upon Neo-Christians; but the Portuguese of Bordeaux were Jews, and, as such, since Jews had been banished from France several centuries ago, they should not be tolerated at all. The Portuguese Jews were thus reminded that they were too precipitate in disclaiming connection with their coreligionists of other countries and in arrogating to themselves an unapproachable superiority. The spirit of intolerance that still prevailed still regarded them as one with their other coreligionists. Since, however, the Jews had men of education in their midst, they were in a position to defend themselves against hostile attacks. Rodrigues Pereira wrote a "Circular Letter" in refutation (1767). Another Jew wrote an apology (1769) under the caption of "Letters of a Lord," in which he lays stress upon the services the Jews had rendered the European states. The commerce of Holland and England began to flourish only after the Jews had settled in those states. France in particular needed this energetic and intelligent class because the ambition of its inhabitants was confined to martial noise and office hunting, and gave no thought to the commercial prosperity of the country.

But this attention of public opinion directed at the Jews, and even the favorable voices loudly raised in their behalf, would have produced no change, internal or external, in Jewry in general, were it not for a highly gifted personality, who paved the way for an almost wonderful and certainly unexpected rejuvenescence of the Jewish people.

CHAPTER VIII*

THE DECLINE OF POLISH JEWRY, AND THE JEWS IN THE MUSCOVITE KINGDOM

(1665-1750)

The catastrophe that befell the Jewry of Poland in the middle of the seventeenth century filled them with despair, and Jewish writers of the day, including the chronicler Nathan Hanover, believed that the Jews would never more be able to reëstablish their home in Poland. But the remarkable vitality of the "eternal people" manifested itself once more. The Jewish population of Poland had decreased; many populous communities, like that of Ostrog, in Volhynia, were entirely annihilated. Talmudic schools were discontinued, and all remaining communities had become impoverished; but even in the very midst of the disturbances, teachers and pupils reassembled and returned to their schools; academies were reopened; the survivors gradually rebuilt their destroyed homes, and the old communities with their former institutions were reëstablished. Poland still remained the center of Judaism, and, for another century, continued to supply rabbis and Talmudic teachers for the rest of Europe. But despite the reopening of Talmudic

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This chapter is abridged from Rabinonitz's Hebrew edition, Chapter XII, Vol. VIII, Part II, pp. 407-454.

academies and the resumption of the Talmudic studies, a period of decadence set in in the Polish and Lithuanian communities in consequence of external and internal causes. As a result of the disturbances in the Polish provinces of Little Russia, particularly in the Ukraine (Kiev and a part of Volhynia) and Podolia, where the position of the Jews became untenable, the Jewish centre gradually shifted from southern to northeastern Poland, to Lithuania and Northern Podolia, which was contiguous to it.

Upon his return to his capital after the Russo-Swedish war (1660), King John Casimir issued a decree (1661) granting the Jews of Cracow the right of free trade, and, several days later, granted a similar exemption to other Jewish communities. The poll-tax, however, remained in force, because the royal treasury was empty, even though it imposed a great burden upon the Jews of Poland and Lithuania. John Casimir confirmed also the ancient privileges granted the Jews by former kings. Upon his abdication (1668) he was succeeded by Michael Wishniowietzki (1669-1673), who reigned only five years. By the terms of the Treaty of Androsowo, near Smolensk (1667), Little Russia was divided between Russia and Poland; the district east of the Dneiper, including Kiev, was ceded to Russia, while that west of the Dneiper, all Podolia to the south, and White Russia as far as Smolensk were restored to Poland. The accession to the Polish throne of the son of Jeremiah Wishniowietzki, the heroic defender of Poland, who had wrought such havoc among them during their rebellion, embittered the Cossacks exceedingly. Their hetman called upon the Turks for help, and in the war between Turkey and Poland that followed the Poles sustained such a defeat that King Michael was compelled to sue for peace under the most ignominious conditions. Unable to bear their disgrace, the war broke out once more, and this time the Poles gained a glorious victory over their foes under the leadership of John Sobieski. Upon the death of King Michael (1675), John Sobieski was elected king under the title of John II.

These kings protected the Jews as much as they could, conferred many privileges upon communities and individuals, endeavored to allay the wrath of the priesthood and to prove the falsity of the malicious accusations that were frequently made against the Jews. But the kings of Poland had become powerless and mere shadows; moreover, in the course of a century, ever since the days of Stephen Bathori, the Jesuits succeeded in inspiring the nobility too with intolerance and hatred of non-Catholics and Jews especially. As far back as the days of Sigismund III (1587-1632), the diet of the nobles that hitherto protected the Jews adopted the policy (1588) of restricting the Jewish rights of commerce and handicraft. The diet of 1633, it is true, admitted that the Christian competitors of the Jews took advantage of that policy to raise the prices of the necessaries of life, and decided to restore to the Jews of the grand duchy of Lithuania, and particularly of its capital, Vilna, the commercial freedom of which they had been deprived. But after thirty years of confusion and wars, the diet of 1661 could find no more important topic of discussion than complaints against the Jews for building synagogs and schools in close proximity to Catholic churches and on land that belonged to priests; it also adopted a law limiting to twenty per cent. the interest which Jews were allowed to charge. The tone of the proceedings of these diets in this period was very much like that of the discussions of the Jesuits and the Dominicans which abounded in venomous reflections upon the Jews and their religion. These diets decided that in the future Jews must obtain a special permit to build a new synagog or to make improvements on an old one. Thus surrounded by enemies on all sides—priests, Jesuits, burghers and their magistrates who hated the Jews either out of religious fanaticism or out of commercial competition, and nobles who exploited them for their own benefit—the condition of the Jews would have been precarious indeed were it not for the protection which the kings afforded them. As stated above, King John Casimir, upon his return to his capital, issued a decree (1661) exempting the Jews of Cracow and of other communities of Poland and Lithuania from customs duties and other taxes, to enable them to recuperate from their fearful catastrophe. Such decrees issued by King John Casimir are still extant in Lithuania, particularly in the communities of Brest, Grodno, as well as in other communities of Lithuania, the Ukraine and Podolia. This king had a Jewish factor and secretary, Lazar Mojzeszowicz, who, it seems, was the representative of the Jewish communities at court and who handed down his office to his son Moses or Jonas. Only once did this king issue an anti-Jewish decree interdicting the Jews of Lithuania to employ Christian servants (1663). It seems, however, that this decree was forced upon him by the priests and burghers.

King Michael Wishniowietzki, during his brief reign (1669) followed a similar policy. In the first year of his reign he granted the Jews of Poland a general privilege, as was the custom of his predecessors, and later on he issued a special privilege for the Jews of Lithuania confirming the privileges of 1649 granted by John Casimir. As a matter of fact, these privileges were not mere gifts, for during the disturbances of 1648-1660 the Jews evinced a greater patriotism and loyalty than the

Christian burghers. The latter opened the gates of their cities to the Russians and afterward to the Swedes, swore allegiance to them and evinced no feelings of patriotism whatever; whereas the Jews of Vitebsk, when that city was besieged by the Muscovite general Sheremetiev, joined with the nobles in the defense of the city, and, upon its fall, were led captives with the Poles to Kazan. In a memorial addressed to King John Casimir and signed by sixty Polish and Lithuanian nobles, the patriotism of the Jews is extolled. This document states also that while in captivity the Jews were compelled to change their religion. Moreover, with all their impoverishment after the great catastrophe that had befallen them, the Jews supported the government with money also. They realized that their only hope of safety lay in the protection of the king. The kings, however, retained but a shadow of power, and the Jews were frequently exposed to the ill-will of the priests and the people. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries blood accusations and charges of desecration of hosts were more numerous in Poland and Lithuania than in all the other countries of Central Europe. These charges were instigated by the Jesuits and utilized by the burghers and occasionally by nobles trained in the Jesuit schools, but rarely by the crown officials, the waywodes and starostas, or the Polish magnates. For this kindness on the part of the latter or for the protection which they promised them, the Jews had to pay dearly in the shape of additional taxes and of gifts to the prelates and magnates upon whose land they lived, and their poverty increased in proportion to this additional burden imposed upon them.

The heroic John Sobieski (1676-96), the last Polish king to achieve European fame as a warrior, was very well disposed toward the Jews, restored to them many privileges of which they had been deprived in the middle of the seventeenth century, and conferred additional privileges upon many communities whenever possible. The oppressive measures adopted during his reign at the instigation of the magistrates and the Church councils were passed against his will. John Sobieski restored the judicial autonomy of the councils and circuits, and recognized the dignity of the high court of the Council of Four Lands and the Lithuanian Council, and the authority of the latter to apportion the poll-tax among the different communities instead of imposing it upon every individual. The Jews took advantage of this breathing spell afforded them by the twenty years of Sobieski's reign to reëstablish the order that formerly prevailed in the conduct of the affairs of the Polish communities.

The unit of the communal life in Polish and Lithuanian Jewry at this period was the Kahal (community). The Kahal was either an independent one or a "small Kahal," which was in many points subordinated to one of the near-by larger communities. The large communities were sometimes called "circuits" (Galil). For the most part, the most important Kahal, particularly if it contained a large number of scholars and prominent laymen, became the "circuit city" with a special council that governed also the near-by communities. The chief central bodies of the Jewry of Poland and Lithuania which were recognized by the government and regarded as the representatives of all Jewry, were the Council of Four Lands and the Lithuanian Council. The former comprised Little Poland, Great Poland, Russia (Galicia and Podolia), and Volhynia. On rare occasions the representatives of Lithuania also participated in the sessions of this council. The Lithuanian Council was next in importance, and comprised at first the three "provinces" of Brest, Grodno and Pinsk, to which Vilna was added in 1652 and Slutsk in 1691. To this council may also be added the large "circuits" which almost assumed the importance of "provinces" of White Russia and Samogitia. From the ordinances adopted by the Council of Four Lands in the course of two centuries, and particularly by that of Lithuania in the course of a century and a half, since its records are more numerous and clear, it is evident that the aim of these institutions was the preservation of the unity of the Jewish people and its Torah. The extreme individualism of the Poles, which degenerated into anarchy in the last two centuries of the national existence of Poland taught the Jews the importance of centralization—that is, the subordination of the individual to the common weal. This was the object of the Kahal; and because the government found it more advantageous to deal with Jewry as a whole rather than with individuals in the matter of taxes and other revenues, it gave its recognition to the Kahal and to the centralized bodies, the Councils, that developed from it.

Because of this urgent necessity for unity, the two chief councils exerted a greater influence upon Polish and Lithuanian Jewry in the century following the Cossack Rebellion than ever before. The transactions of the two great councils as well as of the lesser "circuit councils" centred about regulations for (1) the promotion of rabbinic studies, the restoration of the abandoned Talmudic schools (Yeshibot), and defining and limiting the power of the rabbis; (2) the commercial relation between Jew and Jew; (3) protection against danger, and forestalling hostile legislation; (4) the apportionment of taxes; (5) defining the boundaries of the various circuits and provinces; (6) participation in matters concerning Jewry as a whole, and (7), as recorded in the Lithuanian minutes, the granting or withholding the "right of settlement" in the case of individuals or groups who moved from one circuit or province to another, a power conferred upon the councils by the government. The regulations under the last head were of particular importance. As the power of the government waned, and that of the local magnate or noble increased, the Kahal was made more strictly responsible for the individual. Every magnate, noble and Jesuit priest who presided over a chapter demanded that the Kahal pay him the (imaginary) debts which they claimed some individual Jews owed them. The Jews had ere this, and particularly so in the seventeenth century, become a source of revenue for the lords of the land, the nobles great and little. Hence when newcomers came to settle among them, the heads of the Kahal had to investigate whether these strangers "belonged" to some noble, in which case the Kahal would be responsible for whatever transgressions the newcomers may have been guilty of in their former place of residence. The nobles, on the other hand, were very anxious to have the "circuit" or the Council within their domain, and they therefore interfered whenever differences arose between circuits and decided the question at issue. All social conditions thus compelled the individual Jews to subordinate themselves to the totality, and the smaller groups to the larger, thereby strengthening the union of Jewry as a whole in a land that was torn by dissensions and that had a lawgiver and leader in each magnate and noble.

But this close union, the result of the centralized constitution of the Polish and Lithuanian Jewry, did not continue long. In the period of 1670-1690, signs of disintegration began to manifest themselves, and increased from year to year. When the Jews returned to their ruined homes after the Russo-Swedish invasions of Poland, they found conditions completely changed. Hundreds of communities of Volhynia, the Ukraine and Podolia had been entirely wiped out; the surviving communities had dwindled down to but a few families. The central government had become powerless, and the power of the magistrates, of the Jesuits and the Dominicans had increased. The Kahal, which had hitherto been supported by the government, became itself subjected to greedy nobles and Jesuits. In addition to the poll-tax and other governmental taxes, the Kahals were compelled to bribe the priests and magistrates with gifts lest they turn loose upon the defenseless Jews the Jesuits and the city workmen. The Kahal was responsible also for individuals who were unable to pay their real or imaginary debts. These debts were of various kinds; and an obligation once assumed by an individual or a community in an emergency remained a fixed tax for all time to come. In Posen, Lemberg, Cracow and Vilna the Jews presented the local priests and Jesuit monasteries with gifts to induce them to curb the savagery of their wild students; but this gift became a fixed obligation, a source of revenue for the Catholic Church. The waywodes and the starostas, on their part, imposed upon the Jews a special market-tax on all goods they bought. As a result of all these burdens, the communities became greatly impoverished, as is indicated by some ordinances passed by the general and local councils. In consequence of this poverty, the Kahals, being responsible for the conduct of the individuals of the community, were compelled to conduct the affairs of the community with an iron hand, and the individuals began to feel this oppression and rebelled against it. So many recalcitrants and evildoers sought and obtained the protection of some lord and noble, and refused to share the burdens of the community in which they lived that King Michael Wishniowietzki found it necessary to issue a decree empowering the Kahal, with the consent of the rabbi, to punish and to excommunicate such recalcitrants. King John Sobieski issued a similar edict (May 16, 1676) and empowered the Kahal of Brest to impose capital punishment upon their recalcitrants and informers. In addition to this increasing number of recalcitrants, frequent quarrels broke out in the various provinces with reference to the boundaries of various communities—that is, as to whether they belong to the jurisdiction of this or that circuit, this or that province. The anarchy that prevailed in Poland in the seventeenth century in consequence of the so-called *liberum veto,* the right conferred upon each noble to annul by his veto any resolution of the diet which ultimately led to the destruction of the national existence of Poland, finally infected the Jews too. Obedience grew lax, dissensions increased, and the central councils lost their influence and power. With their decline the respect entertained for the Torah and its students declined also.

The political and social condition of the Jews deteriorated likewise in this period. The country was in the power of the Jesuits, or of nobles who were Jesuit pupils. John Sobieski was by all means a friend of the Jews, but even during his reign the Jews met with scant justice and false accusations against them were more frequent than ever before. In 1670 the Jews of Mlawa were accused of desecrating a host, and their lives were endangered. In 1697 some articles were stolen from a Catholic church in Volhynia, and a rabbi and his son were burned at the stake. In 1710 seven Jews were burned in Lenczytza because they were suspected of stealing an eucharist and of practising witchcraft. Not only in the small towns, but even in the large cities, disturbances and riots were of frequent occurrence. The Jesuit pupils, with their confederates, the city workmen, made frequent attacks—

Schüler Gelauf, as it was called—on the Jews which led to bloodshed on many occasions. The recorder of the Jewish community of Posen gives an account of one such riot (1688) which led to a three days' battle in which the Jews proved victorious. Blood accusations and charges of stealing the eucharist were frequent in Lithuania also, and the councils had to adopt many ordinances dealing with such situations. All this occurred in the reign of kings who were well disposed toward the Jews: Michael Wishniowietzki and John Sobieski. Sobieski, in particular, was a sincere friend of the Jews, but even he was compelled now and then to acquiesce in anti-Jewish measures in order to placate the Jesuits and the magistrates of the cities and the diets who often made common cause with them. Sobieski, engaged in war with Turkey through the greater part of his reign and obliged to spend a number of years in Germany and Hungary, entrusted the reins of power to waywodes and starostas, who by their arrogance and vanity caused the downfall of the kingdom and brought misfortune and spiritual and political deterioration upon the Jews.

The lawlessness and violence which prevailed in Poland and Lithuania in this period, and the constant persecutions to which the Jews were exposed, left a deep and lasting impression also upon the spiritual and intellectual life of the Jews. In a certain sense, the persecutions of 1648-56 produced the same effect upon the religious life of the Polish-Lithuanian Jews as the persecutions in Persia and the disorders incident to the migration of nations did in the fifth century when the Babylonian Talmud was closed. Before this period the Shulhan Aruk was not as yet regarded as an absolutely authoritative code. Not only the great rabbinic masters like Meir of Lublin (1554-1616), Yom Tob Zohalan and, needless to say, Solomon Luria (b. ab.

1510, d. 1573) refused to submit to the authority of the Shulhan Aruk, but even lesser lights, like Alexander Valk (d. 1614) and Joel Syrkes (author of Beth Hadash; d. 1640), assumed a different attitude toward the Shulhan Aruk than did David Ha-Levi of Lemberg (author of Ture Zahab; 1646) and Sabbathai Cohen of Vilna (Schach; d. 1663). The rabbinic scholars who had achieved fame in that generation by virtue of their originality, had achieved their greatness before the persecutions had set in; and none of them submitted absolutely to the Shulhan Aruk. After their death, a period of intellectual stagnation set in. The later commentators, like Abraham Gumbiner of Kalisz, author of Magen Abraham; Moses of Slonim, rabbi in Vilna, author of Helkat Mehokek, and Hillel of Vilna, author of Beth Hillel, all betray an utter lack of originality, and are given to insignificant quibbles. This stagnation in Talmudic learning in its very center, Poland and Lithuania, proved, it seems, the cause that made the Shulhan Aruk an absolutely authoritative code that exerted a tremendous influence upon the following generations. The constant occupation of the Polish-rabbinic scholars with the revealed law, the Halakah, prevented the Polish-Lithuanian Jews, in a measure, from indulging too much in mystic speculations; though they were not entirely free from such vagaries any more than the Jews of Italy or the Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam, despite the culture and secular education of the latter. The didactic literature of this period teems with monstrous stories of he- and she-devils, and is pervaded by a spirit of superstition with hardly an exception; and "Masters of the Name" (Baal Shem) and writers of amulets abounded.

But despite the intellectual stagnation that prevailed in the Polish-Lithuanian Jewry in every department of knowledge, outside of the Halakah, there were a few individuals who rose above their contemporaries and wandered to foreign universities in search of instruction in secular branches. Among these was the physician Aaron Gordon of Vilna, and a family of great physicians in Posen, consisting of father, son and grandson, who enjoyed a great reputation for almost a century even among non-Jews. The father of this family was Leib (in the diploma given him by the University of Padua, 1629, he is called Leo Judaea Wincler), son of Isaac Wincler. His son Jacob, who received the degree of doctor of medicine at the University of Padua in 1669, came to Posen after the expulsion of the Jews from Vienna and married the daughter of the physician, Moses Judah (Mojzesz Judko). In 1673 he was elected physician to the Jewish community at a salary of forty gold ducats and was one of the elders of the Jewish community, and acted as its representative at the diets. After his death (about 1711), he was succeeded in his post by his son Benjamin Wolf, who had also studied medicine at Padua (received his degree in 1711) and who served the community faithfully until 1736, when he fled from Posen during the riots incident to a ritual murder charge, and was no more heard from. Among the scholars who occupied themselves with other departments of secular knowledge was the grammarian Isaac ben Samuel Halevi of Posen (author of Siah Yitzhak; d. 1646), the philosopher Solomon Ashkenazi of Posen, the mathematician Elijah of Pinczow, the grammarian Judah Leon, a native of Poland who officiated as rabbi in Carpentras in Southern France, and the family of Masoretic scholars of Vilna, consisting of Azriel, his son Nissan and his grandson Elijah. These few secular scholars, however, were the exception. Conditions in Polish-Lithuanian Jewry militated against any but halakic studies. One must, of course, give the Polish-Lithuanian Jews credit for not neglecting the rabbinic schools in the midst of wars, disorder and persecutions, but the rabbinic studies had already become a mere routine, matter-of-fact, dry, and awakened no enthusiasm. If the Jews of Poland were not given to theoretical cabala as much as their coreligionists of Holland, Italy and Germany, it was not because they regarded that subject as unworthy, but because they had no leisure for things that were not concerned with the halakah and with practice. But the lack of interest in theoretical cabala did not prevent them from becoming wrapped up in the practical cabala, and to absorb the humbuggeries that demanded so many victims in the periods of Sabbathai Zebi and Frank; periods of demoralization that continued for more than a hundred years, up to the middle of the eighteenth century.

With the death of John Sobieski, the glory of Poland departed forever, and the peace and security of the Jews also came to an end. The sixty years' reign of the Saxon dynasty (Augustus II, 1697-1733, and Augustus III, 1733-66) was the darkest period in the history of Polish Jewry. In the midst of the ever-increasing disorder and confusion, only two classes, the clergy and the urban magistracies, preserved their unity, and both of these were united in their hatred of the Jews, and instituted numerous persecutions and riots throughout the kingdom of Poland. While even the Saxon kings officially confirmed the Jewish charters and issued no decrees hostile to the Jews, the royal protection hitherto given the Jews by the waywodes and starostas ceased with the death of John Sobieski. The Jews, henceforth, became merely a source of revenue for the government. The burden of taxes was made heavier all the time. In 1717 the Jews of Poland and Lithuania paid a poll-tax of 280,000 guldens, whereas in 1764 that tax was increased to 1,194,898 guldens. At the instigation of the urban magistracies and guilds and of the clergy, the Jews were deprived of the right of tilling the soil and of leasing land, of mining metals and salt, of leasing the government taxes in Masovia, and were denied permanent residence in Warsaw. At one time (1740), the Polish nobles entertained the idea of reducing the Jews to serfdom, to the extent of compelling them to remain forever attached to the estates on which they lived; the king, however, refused to sanction such a proposal, because the government would thus lose the revenues it derived from the Jews. Under these circumstances many Jews were compelled to become factors, petty traders, and agents for the execution of every contemptible commission with which their capricious "lords" (Poritz) charged them. The majority of the Jews, particularly those who lived in villages and on the estates of the nobles, resorted to the keeping of inns and the selling of liquor to the peasants, and though they were thus enabled to earn a livelihood, they were constantly exposed to the caprice of the lord who, at his pleasure, either subjected them to indignities as a matter of jest or deprived them of their livelihood if their rent remained unpaid or overdue. The ordinances of the "Councils of the Lands" indicated that the nobles occasionally held the children and the wives of their tenants in pledge and compelled them at times to submit to baptism. But even in this evil period the Jews of Poland still enjoyed considerable commercial freedom, and in nearly every city there were some Jews who conducted the business affairs of the great nobles, the magnates, who were helpless in financial matters. These agents acquired some wealth, but in Poland and Lithuania there were at no time Jews of sufficient wealth to compare with the "court Jews" of Germany.

The accession of the Saxon kings who were fanatic Catholics, encouraged the Jesuits and the urban population who were ever hostile to the Jews to perpetrate new outrages upon them, and they utilized for this purpose the blood accusation and the charge of the desecration of the eucharist. These charges were frequently exploited in Poland ever since the days of Sigismund III (1587-1632), but never with such regularity as in the period of 1696-1764. In the spring of 1696, the mutilated body of a Jesuit student, a son of the starosta of Obornik, was discovered in the woods near Posen, and it was taken for granted that the Jews had committed the murder. An armed mob, composed of Jesuit pupils and of the gentry, relatives of the murdered student, were on the point of breaking into the Jewish quarter and wreaking their vengeance upon the Jews, when a peasant woman came into Posen and attempted to sell the clothing of the murdered student. She was immediately taken before the magistracy, and confessed that her son had committed the murder. Of a more serious nature was the incident that occurred in Sendomirz, Little Poland, in 1698 and again in 1710, at the instigation of the arch-deacon, Stefan Zhukhowski. In March, 1698, just before the Passover, a Christian woman deposited the corpse of her illegitimate child in a corner of a monastery of that city. The woman at first told the truth, both in the court of Sendomirz and before the tribunal of Lublin. But at the suggestion of Stefan Zhukhowski, she withdrew her first statement and asserted that the Jew Alexander Bär Cohen had received from her a living child which he killed in order to use its blood for the Passover cakes. The trial extended over an entire year, and the tribunal finally ordered the Jew decapitated; his body was cut in four pieces which were hung at the crossroads. This trial as well as that of 1710 furnished the priest Zhukhowski with the occasion for writing a tirade against the Jews in the Polish language that surpassed in bitterness anything written before.

The most serious of these blood accusations occurred in 1736, because it involved the greatest Polish community, Posen, and brought it to the brink of ruin. Adalbert Yablonowit, a son of a prominent citizen, disappeared from his home and his mutilated body was found in a village near Posen. The Christian population of Posen, whose minds had been poisoned against the Jews by the former trials and by denunciatory writings, at once charged the Jews with that crime. The majority of the Jews of Posen, fearing violence, fled for their lives. The preacher Aryeh Leib ben Joseph, the communal representative Jacob ben Pinehas, and two parnasim, Isaac and Hertz, were seized and thrown in prison, on the eve of New Year's Day (Sept., 1736). The preacher and the representative were tortured, and died in prison. The trial of the parnasim and of five other prominent Jews dragged on for nearly four years, when a foreign community, Vienna, it seems, procured an able advocate who succeeded in proving the innocence of the accused, and the latter were released in 1740 (12th of Ab). As a result of this incident, the community of Posen became so impoverished that it was compelled to ask for contributions from other cities for the maintenance of the community. As a result of similar incidents in numerous other cities and of the constantly increasing burden of taxations, the Jewish communities of Poland and Lithuania sank into ever greater poverty.

Such was the condition of the Polish Jews in the two generations preceding the first partition of Poland. To intensify their misery, there broke out a civil war in Poland between the followers of Augustus II, who was supported by Peter the Great of Russia, and the Polish patriots, who refused to be governed by foreign princes and elected as king the waywode of Posen, Leshchinski, who was supported by the valiant Charles XII of Sweden. In consequence of this civil war, the provinces of Poland and Lithuania were frequently overrun by the Russian and Swedish armies in turn, both of which extorted tribute from the population in general and from the Jews in particular. In the course of the war that continued for eighteen years the Jews, from Vilna to Posen, were robbed by friend and foe alike. While Poland was dying, there emerged from its obscurity and appeared on the stage of Europe a kingdom that was destined to develop into a mighty empire and to render tragic the fate of the great majority of the Jewish people—Russia. To obtain a clear comprehension of the history of the five million Jews who live in the vast empire that comprises more than one-seventh of the total land surface of the globe, it is necessary to examine into its beginning which covers the period from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century. Of particular importance are the six decades between 1680-1740, which were the formative period of those laws and regulations which shaped the future destiny of the Jews of that vast empire, and the effects of which are felt to this day.

The early history of the Jews in Russia differs from that of their brethren in Western and Central Europe in three fundamental respects. In the latter countries the restrictive laws imposed upon the Jews developed gradually in the course of many ages, and reflected the varying stages of the civilization of the nations among whom the Jews dwelt, which reacted upon the Jews also. At any rate, the Jews and their rulers lived in a common environment, and the disabilities imposed upon the former were the result of certain exigencies and of the conceptions that prevailed at various periods. In the Muscovite kingdom, on the other hand, there is no trace of legislation with reference to the Jews even in the seventeenth century for the simple reason that there were no Jews in that kingdom at that time. The "Jewish Question" in Russia grew out of the Muscovite conquest of the neighboring states to the south and the west that contained a large number of Jews who had lived in those countries for centuries and whose social and political status had been well defined for many generations. As newly acquired Russian subjects, the status of these Jews had to be defined anew; and because of the suddenness of this problem the legislation bearing on the Jewish question lacked the historic development that characterized such legislation in Central and Western Europe. Again, while in Central and Western Europe the fate of the Jewish inhabitants was determined not merely by the attitude of the rulers toward their Jewish subjects, but also by the force of custom that grew out of the relationship that prevailed between the Jews and their neighbors at various periods, in the newly acquired Russian provincs the fate of the Jews who had lived in those countries for centuries was henceforth shaped entirely by the government which forced a complete and exclusive legislation upon its new Jewish subjects. One must bear in mind, moreever, that the Muscovite law of the Middle Ages as well as of the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries was based upon the Byzantine code which was notorious for its intolerance and fanaticism. The first Muscovite code, issued in 1649 under Alexis Mikhailovich (1645-76), states explicitly that it was compiled under the direction of the head of the Greek-Catholic Church and of the Byzantine fathers and kings. Such a code would naturally contain laws to safeguard the dominant religion. The circumstance that Alexis Mikhailovich first came in contact with the Jews during the Cossack persecutions, at the very time when Bogdan Chmielnicki turned over the provinces of Little Russia to the Muscovite kingdom, led Alexis to assume a prejudicial attitude toward the Jews. As the Byzantine code, both political and religious, is very rigid and remained in force for a thousand years without yielding to change, this prejudicial attitude toward the Jews became incorporated in the code of Alexis and his successors.

The code of 1649 betrays no particular animosity toward the Jews, and Alexis himself was not unfriendly to the Jews. The code, of course, breathes the spirit of intolerance, and any one venturing to lead a Greek-Catholic away from the true faith was to be punished with death at the stake without mercy. As a rule, however, the Jews are classed with all other dissenters in the edicts issued by Alexis. Thus one edict referring to prisoners of war ordered "Catholics, Mohammedans, Tartars and Jews to be brought to Moscow." Another decree (March 9, 1655) ordered that Jewish and Lithuasian captives of the Polish war be brought to Nijni-Novgorod and to Kaluga, and the treaty of Andrusov (1667) gave the Jews of the newly acquired provinces the choice of remaining in Russia or of being sent back to Polish territory, with their wives and children, under proper military protection. It is clear from this and from other evidence that some few Jews from Lithuania and White Russia had managed to settle in Great Russia ere this. It seems that similar conditions obtained under Alexis' son and successor Feodor Alekseyevich.

In the treaty concluded between him and John Sobieski, king of Poland (1678), Feodor stipulated that all Polish merchants, excepting Jews, should be allowed to visit and to reside in Moscow.

The attitude of Peter the Great (1682-1725) toward his Jewish subjects cannot be definitely ascertained. The Russian historian Solovyev, who was himself greatly prejudiced against the Jews, maintains that Peter the Great entertained contempt and violent hatred for the Jews. He cites Nartov, the anecdotist of Peter the Great, to the effect that when Peter invited European savants and artisans to come to Russia, he excepted Jews with the remark: "I would rather invite Mohammedans than Jews, because the latter are cheats and tricksters." Nartov reports also that when Amsterdam Jews petitioned Peter, during his sojourn in Holland, to permit their coreligionists to trade in Moscow, he replied: "You imagine that the Jews are very shrewd and can take advantage of the Christian, but I assure you that my people are shrewder than the Jews and will not permit the Jews to deceive them." There is, however, no documentary evidence to prove such an assertion. From an edict published two years after his death, it appears, on the contrary, that during his reign there were Jews in Russia who were permitted to lease inns and customs duties. In the nearly forty years of his reign, he did not issue a single restrictive law against the Jews, despite the fact that during his reign all the territory of Little Russia east of the Dneiper had come under Russian dominion, and that many Jews had undoubtedly returned and had established temporary or permanent homes in the Cossack cities or villages. This would indicate that while the Czar did not particularly favor the Jews, he was not actuated by fanaticism, and paid little attention to the "Jewish problem."

The first Russian ruler to inaugurate drastic measures against the Jews and to adopt the persecution of Jews as a policy of state—a policy followed by the Russian government to this day—was Peter's successor, Catherine I (1725-27). Prompted by religious fanaticism which was fostered by her religious advisers and especially by Feofan Prokopovich, elder of the Holy Synod, a petty incident, 1722, during the lifetime of Peter the Great, a it seems, aroused her anger against the Jews. In complaint reached the ears of the Czar that the governor of Smolensk permitted Lithuanian Jews to settle in that province, to lease the inns and the customs duties, that the Jews were making proselytes among the Greek-Catholics of that province; that a certain Jew, Baruch Leibov, had dared build a synagog in a village of Smolensk in the neighborhood of a Greek-Catholic church, and had killed an orthodox priest who had admonished his flock not to be led astray by the Jewish heresy. The upshot of this denunciation was that the Holy Synod ordered the destruction of the synagog. That Peter himself paid no attention to this absurd charge is evident from the fact that Baruch Leibov was permitted to remain in Smolensk undisturbed for nearly five years after that charge had been made against him. However, in 1727 (March 25), the empress Catherine issued an ukase prohibiting the leasing of inns and customs duties to Baruch Leibov and other Jews, and ordering that the Jews of Russia be deported beyond the frontier. This was followed by the ukase of May 7 of the same year, which read: "All Jews, both men and women, who are living in the Ukraine and in other Russian cities are to be deported beyond the Russian frontier, and must henceforth not be permitted to reenter Russia under any circumstances. Such a possibility must be carefully guarded against. In deporting the Jews, steps should be taken to prevent them from carrying out of the country golden or silver Russian coins. Such coins should be exchanged for copper."

But the removal of the Jews, the only merchant class, from the Ukraine proved of such economic injury to the country that the Cossacks of the Dnieper, the very Cossacks who eighty years ago had persecuted the Jews so mercilessly, petitioned the Senate through their hetman Apostol, to revoke the edict of expulsion. Accordingly, Peter II (1727-30) issued an ukase (Sept. 2, 1728), permitting Jews to visit Little Russia during fairs, with the proviso that Jewish merchants sell their goods at wholesale to Christian merchants, but not at retail, and at barter, but not for cash. The empress Anna Ivanovna (1730-40), in her edicts of 1731, 1734 and 1736, relieved somewhat further the severity of the restrictions imposed upon Jewish merchants by the edicts of her predecessors. This leniency, however, was prompted by economic necessity rather than by religious tolerance. As a matter of fact, her religious fanaticism reasserted itself toward the end of her reign, as a result, it seems, of the proselytizing activities of the same Baruch Leibov who had formerly aroused the ire of the empress Catherine against the Jews. Why this Jew should have jeopardized his life in such a hopeless undertaking is beyond conception; and the multiplicity of crimes imputed to him lead the Russo-Jewish historian Orshansky to question the historicity of the entire episode. It is said, at any rate, that Baruch Leibov aroused the suspicion of the authorities and that the empress Anna ordered the Senate to institute a thorough and secret investigation (that is, under torture), with the result that Baruch Leibov was found guilty of converting the naval captain Voznitzyn to Judaism. Both were burned at the stake (July 15, 1738). This incident, unique in the annals of Russian Jewish history, led to deplorable consequences. In 1739 (Aug. 29) the empress issued a decree forbidding Jews to keep inns or to lease any other property in Little Russia, and on July 22, 1740, she ordered the expulsion of all Jews, to the number of five hundred and seventy-three souls, from Little Russia.

The fanatic empress Elizabeth (1741-62) was especially hostile to the Jews. In her edict of December 13, 1742, expelling the Jews both from Great Russia and from Little Russia, which is identical in effect with that issued by Catherine in 1727, Elizabeth refers to the Jews as "enemies of Christ and of the Christian religion," and threatens the governors of the provinces concerned with dire punishment should they prove lax in enforcing the edict of expulsion. In 1743 she ordered the expulsion of the Jews from Riga also. When the Senate, at the urgent request of the Cossacks of Little Russia, of the govornors of Little and White Russia, and of the merchants of Riga petitioned the empress one year later to treat the Jews more liberally, pointing out to her the great losses both to the internal commerce and to the imperial treasury that would follow as a result of her present policy, Elizabeth's reply was a brief annotation on the margin of the Senate report (Dec. 27, 1743): "From the enemies of Christ I wish to derive no profit." In 1744 she issued another edict ordering the deportation of the Jews of Little and White Russia beyond the frontier, and prohibiting their return and even their sojourn during the fairs. Elizabeth was sincere in her fanaticism and firmly believed that by expelling the Jews from her empire she was performing her Christian duty. When she discovered that her court physician, Antonio Sanchez, a famous physician and a member of the Academy of Sciences, was a Jew, she sent him a peremptory order to leave Russia at once.

The reign of Elizabeth closes the first period of or rather the introductory chapter to the history of the Jews of Russia. The real history of the Jews of Russia begins with the reign of Catherine II, who, like Peter the Great, created a new epoch in the annals of the great empire, and with the year 1772, the year in which all the territory of White Russia was annexed to the Russian empire and millions of Jews found themselves suddenly Russian subjects. This period, however, must be treated later on. To complete the picture of the political and moral condition of the Jew of Poland, it is necessary to mention briefly the movement of the brigand bands known as Haidamaks which originated in Podolia and in that part of the Ukraine which still belonged to Poland. This movement, while not so violent as that of the Cossack rebellion under Chmielnicki, continued for about thirty years, and proved disastrous to thousands of Jews who lived in southeastern Poland which bordered on the newly acquired Russian provinces of Little Russia. These brigand bands, composed of Cossacks from both sides of the Dneiper, made frequent incursions in the provinces of Volhynia, Ukraine and Podolia, and robbed and slaughtered the Jews without mercy. If, in addition, one bears in mind the anarchy that prevailed in Poland at that period, one can easily understand why a period of decadence set in among the Jews of Poland. The Yeshibot were closed; Talmudic learning became the possession of the few, the masses sank into ignorance and superstition. In consequence of the sinking of the intellectual level, the masses turned for comfort to mystic fantasies, to marvelous tales and legends, and the longing for miracles grew apace.

These events occurred in the reign of Augustus

III (1734-1763), when the Poles themselves were sunk in the grossest ignorance. The Jesuits were still in control of the Polish schools, trials of witches and wizards, and their condemnation to death by fire, water or quartering were of daily occurrence. Religious intolerance, even against Christian dissenters, reigned supreme. In such an atmosphere, was it possible for the Jews to acquire European culture, or escape the infection of the superstitions that surrounded them on all sides? It is not surprising, therefore, that decadence had set its mark even upon the literature of that period. Still, Sabbathaism and Frankism, the two excrescences on the Jewish body at that period which had gained so many followers even in the enlightened countries of Italy and Holland, spread not throughout Poland, but only in Galicia and Podolia, particularly in the latter country, where the Jews had been crushed by so many misfortunes. In Great Poland and Lithuania, on the other hand, and particularly in the latter country, Talmudic learning revived again during the comparative tranquillity of the reign of Augustus III. The Yeshibot flourished once more, Talmudic knowledge was widely diffused, and the Lithuanian schools supplied rabbis for nearly all the German communities. The Talmud still monopolized the heart and the mind of the Lithuanian Jew, but there are indications pointing to an improved and simplified system of study in the Talmudic law itself. Moreover, some few individuals gradually began to perceive that the absorption in the Talmud to the exclusion of every other department of Jewish knowledge leads to narrowness both of heart and mind. Such was the complexion of the generation which preceded the birth of three significant movements in Judaism—Hassidism, rational Rabbinic Judaism as taught by Elijah Vilna, and the Haskalah.

THE EPOCH OF REGENERATION

CHAPTER I

THE AGE OF MENDELSSOHN

(1760-1786)

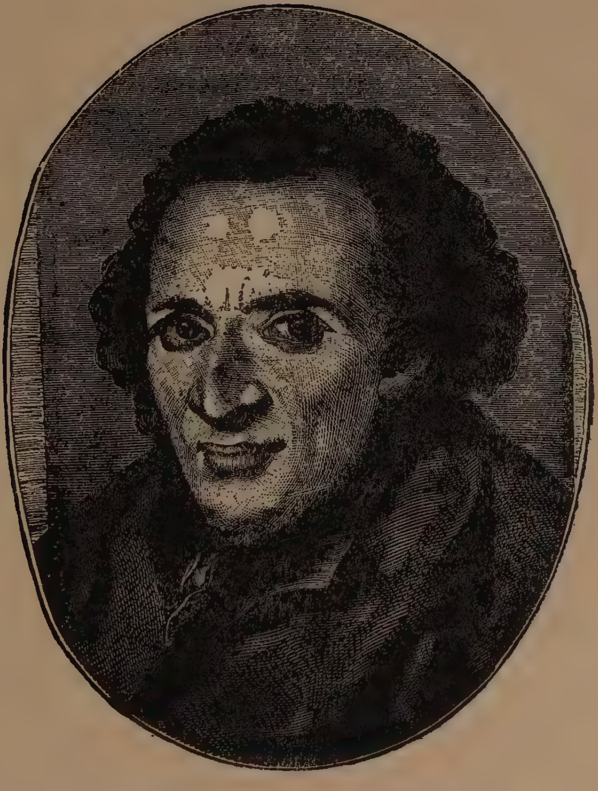
Can a nation be born in one day? Or can a people be born again? A people that had become the object of scorn not only of the malicious and ignorant but almost also of the well-disposed and the thinkers; a people that had lost its self-respect and whose homely virtues and ancient memories, its sole claim to dignity, had been distorted beyond recognition by the trivialities that covered them; a people whose most conscious representative despaired of its regeneration, such a people awakened out of its lethargy after all and arose out of its lowliness with such remarkable rapidity as though the prophetic exhortation were fulfilled: "Arise, arise, shake off the dust; loosen the bonds of thy shackles, O captive daughter of Zion!" This awakening emanated from Moses Mendelssohn, who in a measure was symbolic of his people—deformed in body, awkward, timid, and unattractive in appearance. But in this deformity of a people there lived a thinking soul that, when led astray, pursued only phantoms, and lost its self-respect when held in contempt by others; but as soon as the truth in all its glory was held up to that people, and it recognized that

that truth was its own, it immediately forsook its phantoms and turned toward the light, and its soul began to transfigure its body, its stooping form stood erect, the ugly features disappeared, and the opprobrious epithet "Jew" came nearly being transformed into a title of honor.

This rejuvenescence or rebirth of the Jewish people emanated from Moses Mendelssohn, who achieved this great task without premeditating or even suspecting it, and who, in fact, almost despaired of the rejuvenating power of his coreligionists. This he accomplished not by virtue of his fame or office; he was not a preacher crying in the wilderness; all his life he was rather timid in exerting a direct influence; even when sought out, he evaded leadership. He involuntarily awakened the dormant endowments of the Jewish people which needs only an impetus in order to break its restraint and to unfold itself. Moses Mendelssohn (b. in Dessau, Aug. 17, 1728, d. Jan. 4, 1786) was as unsightly and as wretched as nearly all the miserable Jewish children of his day. Jewish children at that time bore the stamp of servitude from their very cradle. Wide-awake boys could not indulge in the delights of youth, for they were made to feel the icy breath of a cold world very early in life; but this led likewise to an early development of their mental faculties, and hardened them for the struggle with a merciless reality. At the age of fourteen, the sickly, deformed Mendelssohn knocked one day at the entrance of one of the gates of Berlin. A Jewish watchman, whose duty it was to bar the way to Jewish immigrants who had no means of subsistence, gruffly denied the sickly youth permission to enter when the timid boy managed to stammer out that he desired to enroll as a Talmudic student under the newly elected rabbi of Berlin. This served as a recommendation that dispensed with the necessity of a full purse. Mendelssohn was admitted, and he turned his steps to the house of David Frankel, his townsman and teacher, who had but recently been called from Dessau to the rabbinate of Berlin. David Frankel took the timid youth under his care, enrolled him as one if his pupils, provided him with sufficient means to keep body and soul together, and employed him in copying his commentaries to the Jerusalem Talmud.

Like most of the Talmudic students (Bachurim), Mendelssohn led the necessitous life which the Talmud prescribes, as it were, for this circle: "Eat bread with salt, drink a measured quantity of water, sleep on the bare ground, lead a life of privation, and occupy thyself with the Law." His sole ideal at that time was to acquire a mastery of the Talmud. But out of the Prussian capital there was wafted to Mendelssohn a breath of fresh air in the close confinement of his rabbinic studies. The new spirit introduced into Berlin by Frederick the Great which found expression in a fondness of literature, admiration for French culture and even in scoffing at religion, did not fail to exert some influence upon the Jews of Berlin. Because some of them had attained to opulence, though their rights were rather circumscribed during Frederick's reign, craving for education, innovation and imitation of Christian life, began to manifest itself among them. Israel Levi Zamoscz, a Talmudist, introduced Mendelssohn to Maimonides' philosophic work which became for him a veritable "Guide for the Perplexed." Like Maimonides, too, he acquired a firm character, learned to curb his passions, and even before he knew what wisdom meant, he accustomed himself to live strictly in accordance with its laws. For the most part, however, he was his own teacher.

The privation which he suffered for several years did not crush his spirit, but rather refined and en-



Moses Mendelssohn

nobled it. In 1750 he obtained a position as tutor in the house of Isaac Bernard, a wealthy silk manufacturer of Berlin, and though his salary was moderate, it sufficed for his frugal needs, and his days of privation were at an end. But this thirst for knowledge continued. His mind was still torn between the old and the new, between tradition and originality; clearness and self-consciousness were to come to him from a different source. One of the great thinkers to which Germany gave birth in the eighteenth century was Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. He was the first free spirit in Germany; perhaps more free-thinking than the royal hero, Frederick. With his gigantic intellect, Lessing afterward thrust aside all the metes and bounds which depraved taste, dust-covered erudition, arrogant orthodoxy and pedantry of every kind had set up and desired to retain and perpetuate. The liberation which Lessing brought to Germany was more profound and enduring than that which Voltaire stimulated in French society with his biting sarcasm.

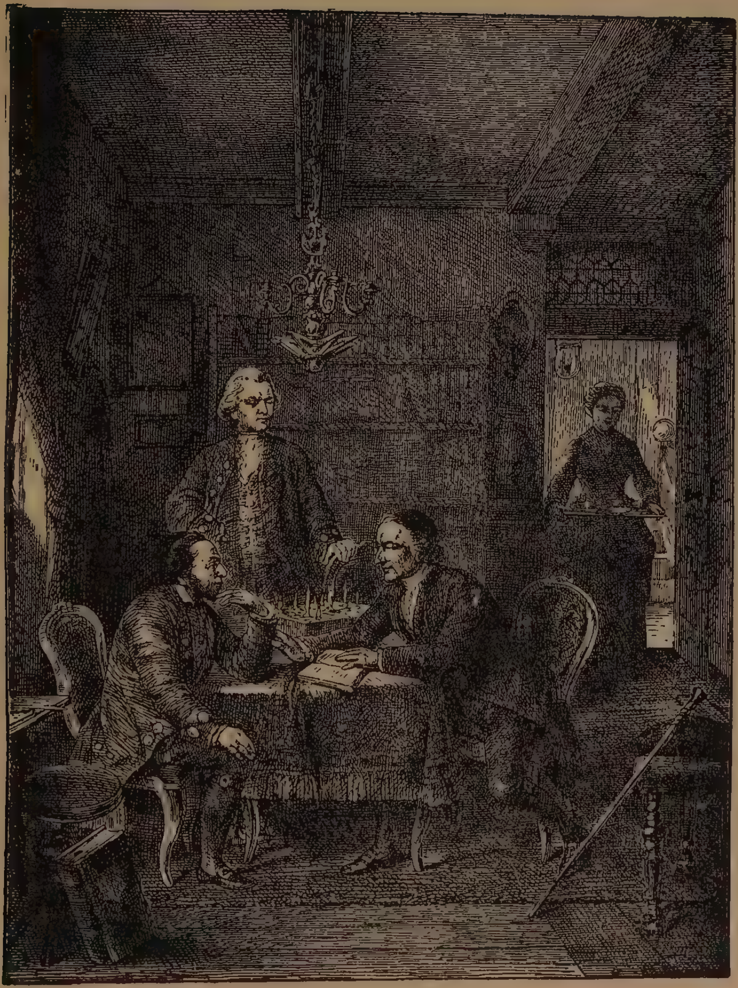
It was a moment fraught with deep significance for the history of the Jews when these two young men, Mendelssohn and Lessing, first formed each other's acquaintance. Isaac Hess, a passionate lover of chess, is said to have introduced them at the chess board (1754). The royal game, as it were, joined into an alliance two kings in the realm of thought. Lessing, the son of a pastor, was democratic by nature; he sought the society of outcasts and of those whom public opinion despised; he was not afraid to associate in Berlin with the despised Jews. He had, ere this, dedicated the first fruit of his art, which to him appeared the highest expression of his art, to this pariah people. By his drama, "The Jews," he desired to prove that a Jew could be unselfish and noble, and thereby aroused the displeasure of the cultivated Christian circles.

From their very first acquaintance, Lessing and Mendelssohn learned to respect and to love each other. The latter admired in his Christian friend the skill and ease, the courage and the consummate culture, the ebullient spirit and the vigor with which he bore a new world upon his giant shoulders, and Lessing, in his turn, admired Mendelssohn's grandeur of thought, his passion for truth, and the firmness of his character founded upon a moral basis. He suspected in his Jewish friend a "second Spinoza," destined to reflect honor upon his nation. Lessing, who was at that time a mere "Schöngeist," as it was called, awakened within Mendelssohn a love of noble forms, of poetry and art, while the latter stimulated Lessing to philosophic reflections. Thus they mutually gave and received and thereby created the true relationship of a genuine friendship. Lessing introduced Mendelssohn to his friends in whose circle he learned the social amenities and freed himself from the awkward manners that were characteristic of the ghetto. He then devoted himself with all his energy to acquire a graceful German style, a task all the more difficult to him because the German language was strange to him and the German vocabulary in vogue among the Jews was antiquated and misleading. Moreover, there was no pattern in existence which he could follow because, before Lessing ennobled the German style by his genius, it was unwieldly, rugged and devoid of grace. But Mendelssohn conquered all difficulties.

Before a year of this intimacy with Lessing had passed, Mendelssohn had mastered the German to the extent of writing in a vivid style his "Philosophic Conversations" (beginning of 1755), in which he, the Jew, rebuked the Germans because, misunderstanding the depth of their own genius, they bowed beneath the yoke of things French. The Jew understood the German spirit better or was more of a Teutomaniac than most of the Germans of his time and than the philosophic king. Mendelssohn handed his "Philosophic Conversations" to his friend with the jesting remark that he could produce something equally as good as the work of Shaftsbury, the Englishman. Lessing had them published without his knowledge, and thus contributed the first leaf to Mendelssohn's crown of laurels. Through Lessing's zeal to promote his interests in every way, Mendelssohn became known in the learned circles of Berlin. When a "Coffee House for the Learned" was established in the Prussian capital, hitherto practically devoid of literary culture, its founders invited him to join it. Once a month some member delivered a discourse upon a scientific topic, but Mendelssohn, prevented by modesty and an imperfection of speech from reading in public, contributed a written essay: "Reflections on Probability," which must replace certainty in the limited sphere of human knowledge. While some other member was reading this essay for him before the society, he was recognized as the author and received the applause of the critical members. Mendelssohn thus became a citizen of the republic of letters, took an active part in all the literary activities of the day, and contributed to the "Library of Fine Arts" which his friend Nikolai called into existence. His taste became more refined every day, his style more noble, and his thoughts more lucid. His manner of presentation was all the more attractive because it was seasoned with a ready wit.

In a very short time, Mendelssohn recovered for the Jews what they had lost in the course of the degradation of a thousand years of enslavement.

With the exception of a few of their Portuguese and Italian coreligionists, the Jews, as a whole, had lost the purity of speech which is the first medium for intellectual intercourse, and substituted for it a stammering jargon. Mendelssohn entertained a real horror for the neglect of language. He realized that the corruption of speech common among the Jews contributed not a little to the "immorality of the average man," and expected that the care which was beginning to be bestowed upon purity of language would produce a favorable effect. It was only another result of this corruption of language that the German and Polish Jews throughout the world, with few exceptions, had lost the sense of form, appreciation of artistic beauty and esthetic feeling. The oppression from without and the burden imposed upon them from within which had reduced them to a veritable state of slavery, had banished from their midst these, among many other refining influences. This spiritual treasure, too, Mendelssohn recovered for them. He acquired such an admirably fine sense of the beauty of form that he afterward became the acknowledged arbiter in matters of taste. In addition, the perverted course of study the Jews followed since the thirteenth century blunted their sense for the simple. They had become so habituated to the artificial, labored and involved quibbling that the plain, simple truth appeared to them childish and ridiculous. Mendelssohn, the destined rejuvenator of his people, had in a very short time so sternly trained and schooled himself that everything artificial was repugnant to him. His keen sense for the simple, the beautiful and the true enabled him to get a deeper insight into the literature of the Bible, founded, as it is, essentially upon simplicity and truth. Through the rubbish and rust which commentaries and super-commentaries heaped upon it, he penetrated to the very



M. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing.
Moses Mendelssohn Johann Caspar Lavater.

Lessing, Mendelssohn and Lavater in a Conversation on Religion

(From a painting by Prof. Oppenheim.)

heart of the Bible, and was enabled to free the beautiful from the dust that covered it, to perceive the ancient revelation as though it were but newly revealed, and to bring the same conviction to others. He thus combined in his own personality so many innate as well as laboriously acquired characteristics as to supply a pleasant contrast to the caricature which the German and Polish Jews presented at that time. Mendelssohn, however, was defective in one respect—a defect that proved greatly disadvantageous to the immediate future of Judaism. He lacked entirely the historic sense, the comprehension of the course of the human race throughout the ages, trivial at close range and imposing in the perspective, and comic and tragic at once.

Many, if not all, of his brilliant traits were reflected in Mendelssohn's eyes and features, and he gained many friends without any conscious effort on his part. Even the court of Frederick the Great began to manifest some curiosity about "this Jew." The intrepid Lessing inspired him, too, with so much courage that he ventured to judge and to censure in a periodical the poetic productions of the Prussian king (1760). Mendelssohn, the Jew, resented the king's anti-German attitude as much as his glittering generalities. However, as the king must not be told the truth, Mendelssohn, while singing the royal praises, very adroitly permitted an undertone of censure to be heard above the paean of praises he bestowed upon the king.

A malicious courtier (Pastor Justi) discovered the censure, and denounced him as a "Jew" who showed disrespect to the most exalted, sacred person of the king in pronouncing insolent judgment upon his poetry. Mendelssohn suddenly received the harsh command to present himself at Sans-Souci on a Saturday. This was in accordance with the crudeness of that period. Full of anxiety, Mendelssohn repaired to the royal castle of Potsdam, and was interrogated as to whether he was the author of that disrespectful criticism. He admitted his crime, but excused himself with the clever remark, "Whoever writes verse, plays at ninepins; and whoever plays at ninepins, whether he be king or peasant, must submit, as to his playing, to the boy who sets up the pins."

Fortune smiled with extraordinary favor upon this man who unconsciously was the embodiment of the future. It had gained for him many warm friends, and provided him with a rather independent though not very lucrative position as a bookkeeper in the house where he had hitherto occupied the precarious post of teacher. It bestowed upon him in marriage a dear, loving though plain woman, and in addition, enabled him to enjoy a great triumph. The Berlin Academy had offered a prize for the best essay on the subject "Whether Philosophic (Metaphysical) Truths Are as Capable of Exact Demonstration as Mathematical Propositions," and Mendelssohn won the prize of fifty ducats and the distinction incident to it (June, 1763) over such a competitor as Kant, the founder of a new philosophic system, who received only honorable mention. His work possessed the preëmient quality of clearness and intelligibility; he pulled the thorns out of the roses of philosophy. His dissertations, together with Kant's, translated into French and Latin at the expense of the Academy, secured his fame in the learned world. In the same year (Oct., 1763), Frederick conferred upon him a distinction which characterizes the lowly position of the Jews of Prussia, namely, the privilege of a Schutzjude; that is, the assurance that he would not suddenly and unceremoniously be expelled from Berlin.

Still more successful was a book written by the

Schutzjude philosopher of Berlin which was received with almost ecstatic admiration by his contemporaries of all classes of society. For nearly sixteen centuries Christianity nourished and almost surfeited the nations of Europe with the belief in things celestial. It employed for that purpose every means of persuasion; and at last, when thinking men, who awoke from their nursery slumber asked themselves what certainty this prediction of salvation in a future world which promised so much has to offer, the serious-minded had to admit sorrowfully—and the scoffers grinned with satisfaction—that such faith was based upon imagination rather than upon truth.

By their serious and satirical attacks, the French thinkers of the eighteenth century banished the gods from the world and changed the heavens into a vapor; everything that was hitherto regarded as firmly established was set in a whirl. The doctrine of the divinity of Jesus had lost its power of attraction, and was regarded by thinking men as a mere fairy tale. The denial of Jesus' divinity seemed to involve the dethronement of God, and this led to a poignant doubt in the immortality of the soul. In that age, not only man's serenity as to his future existence but even social ethics depended upon that belief. After the long dream of so many centuries, the civilized portion of humanity relapsed into the chaotic moral state which had reigned in Roman Society during the empire; it had no God, no stability, no stimulus to a moral life.

Mendelssohn, too, held to the misconception that the dignity of man rises and falls with the immortality of the soul. He therefore undertook to regain the treasure which had been lost to the thinking classes, to reveal again, as it were, the lost truth, to establish it so firmly and to disarm all attacks upon it so conclusively that man, in his dying hour, may look forward serenely to a brighter future and to felicity beyond the grave. With that end in view, he wrote a dialog: "Phædon, or The Immortality of the Soul," in a popular, attractive style, intended for the people at large, a new gospel for an unbelieving or doubting world. This book was modeled after Plato's dialog of the same name; but this Platonic philosophy had become antequated, and Mendelssohn could make as little use of that as of Plato's fancies of a more beautiful, happy earth, where soar the human souls after their separation from the body.

His point of departure in proof of the immortality of the soul was the existence of God which he regarded as the most absolute certainty. The soul is God's work even as is the body; the latter does not perish, in the real sense of the term, after all, upon its dissolution, but changes into other elements; "the soul, this simple substance, is still less capable of dissolution and destruction. Were our soul mortal, then were reason a dream which Jupiter sent to us to beguile us wretches, then were we like cattle, here to feed and to die." Every innate thought of man that inspires him with bliss must therefore also be true and real.

Mendelssohn's "Phædon" stimulated "the conviction of the hearts and the warmth of feeling" for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul to a greater degree than its author intended or expected. It became the most popular book of the day, and was read with great eagerness. It was translated in all European languages, including the Hebrew, as a matter of course. Theologians, philosophers, artists, poets (Herder, Gleim and the youthful Goethe), statesmen and princes, men and women, found edification in this book, felt their drooping religious courage revive, and thanked the Jewish philosopher in terms of extravagant praise that would appear ludicrous today, for restoring to them that comfort which Christianity could no longer afford them. The salvation wrought by the Jew Mendelssohn was greeted by a world turned pagan with the same joy as that which had formerly emanated from Jesus of Nazareth and Paul of Tarsus. Letters expressive of homage reached the modest man from all sides. The Duke of Brunswick sought to induce Mendelssohn to take up his residence in his state. The Prince of Lippe-Schaumburg treated him like a bosom friend. The Berlin Academy of Sciences nominated him for membership, but King Frederick struck his name off the list. Two Benedictine monks turned with their doubts to the Jew Mendelssohn, as to a spiritual father, and besought him to guide them on the path that leads to a moral and philosophic life.

Even an annoying incident to which he was subjected tended to an unusual degree to exalt Mendelssohn in the eyes of his contemporaries and to surround him with the halo of martyrdom. John Kaspar Lavater (1741-1801), a Protestant minister of Zurich, who was partly a fanatic and partly a hypocritical intriguer, later associating himself with the Jesuits, came to the conclusion that Mendelssohn's intelligent head was a striking confirmation of the pseudo-science of physiognomy of which he was an adept. Inasmuch as the Phaedon was written in such a thoroughly Greek spirit that its author could not be recognized as a Jew, Lavater hit upon the strange notion that Mendelssohn had become entirely estranged from his ancestral faith. Moreover, it so happened that in a rather reluctant interview with Lavater, Mendelssohn had deliberately and calmly spoken of the founder of Christianity with a certain appreciation, with the qualification, to be sure, "if Jesus of Nazareth had wished to be nothing else than a virtuous man."

This utterance impressed Lavater as the beginning of Mendelssohn's conversion. If this man, the embodiment of wisdom, become indifferent to Judaism, could be won for Christianity! Artlessly or cunningly, Lavater set a snare for Mendelssohn. Caspar Bonnet, a Geneva professor, had at that time written in French a weak apology for Christianity under the title of "Examination into the Evidence of Christianity Against Infidels." Lavater translated this apologetic into German, prefaced by a blunt dedication to Mendelssohn (Sept., 1709), in which he adjured him solemnly either to refute Bonnet's evidences of Christianity in as public a manner or in so far as he found them valid, to do "what wisdom, love of truth and probity would dictate. What a Socrates would have done, if he had read that book and found it irrefutable."

As events turned out, Mendelssohn should have been grateful to Lavater, who by indiscretion or pious cunning forced him out of his modesty and seclusion. Without the stimulus given him by Lavater's blunt challenge Mendelssohn might have remained all his life in an attitude of seeming estrangement to Judaism; he could not ignore this challenge without incurring the suspicion of cowardice even on the part of his friends. He thereupon entered the combat forced upon him, conducted it with great skill, and proved victorious in the end. In an open letter addressed to Lavater (end of 1769), he tells him and Christendom trenchant truths, the voice of which would, in former times, surely have been stifled in blood or on the stake. Ever since his youth he examined into his religion and he found it true. He regarded philosophy and the cultivation of the fine arts not as an end but as a means by which to prepare himself for his investigation into Judaism. Had not this investigation proved favorable to Judaism, what could have forced him to cling to the rigid, generally despised religion, what could have prevented him from forsaking it? "I will not deny that I have noticed in my religion human admixtures and abuses which, unfortunately, dim its lustre and which creep into all religions in the course of time. But I am so firmly and absolutely convinced of the essential elements of my religion that I bear witness before God that I will cling to them as long as my soul does not assume a different nature." He is as disinclined to Christianity as ever. "The contempt in which the Jew is held I wish to combat by virtue and not by means of polemics." He did not fail to state with perfect lucidity that he who was styled "the German Socrates, and a soul impregnated with divine truth," held firmly to the contemned religion of the Jews and, on the other hand, regarded Christianity as an error which merely does no immediate harm; however, he does not, for many reasons, feel called upon to expose this error.

Mendelssohn's open letter to Lavater naturally excited a great deal of attention. Aside from the fact that since the appearance of the "Phædon" Mendelssohn was regarded as one of the most eminent writers, the subject at issue itself proved of interest to his contemporaries. The crown prince of Brunswick who was prejudiced in Mendelssohn's favor anyway, expressed his admiration (1770) to him for treating such a delicate subject "with so much tact and with such a lofty degree of humanity." Bonnet himself, who was somewhat more decent a personality than his sycophant, conceded the justice of Mendelssohn's position, and complained of Lavater's unwise zeal. Even Lavater felt constrained to apologize, with such grace as he could, in an open letter to Mendelssohn for placing him in a false position.

Mendelssohn was determined not to let this favorable opportunity pass without inspiring respect for Judaism which was held in such profound contempt, or at least without convincing the thinking classes that Judaism was not at all incompatible with reason. On the other hand, he pointed to the gulf that separated Christianity from reason. To the crown prince of Brunswick Mendelssohn expressed himself freely about the untenableness of the Christian Articles of Faith and the reasonableness of the Jewish.

Reasonable people generally agreed with Mendelssohn and his vindication of his religion, and were astonished to see that contemned Judaism had such a great advantage over the extolled, orthodox Christianity. Lavater's unfortunate missionary zeal, and Mendelssohn's rebuff, which was as clever as it was bold, formed for a considerable time a subject of discussion in the cultivated circles of Germany and even beyond the border. This subject gave rise to many anecdotes in Zurich and Berlin. People attached more weight to the polemics between Mendelssohn and Lavater than to the subject of war and peace. Every fair brought pamphlets in German and French, insignificant productions that were only short-lived. Johann Balthasar Kölbele, a pettifogger of Frankfort-on-the-Main, a choleric fellow and wretched writer, embraced this opportunity to abuse Mendelssohn, the rabbis, the Jews and Judaism in such coarse invectives that he only tended to weaken the effectiveness of his attack. Still more venomous was his missive to "Herr Mendelssohn concerning the Lavater and Kölbele Affairs" (March, 1770). Though Mendelssohn's pure and unselfish character was known in nearly all the learned and high circles of Europe, Kölbele insinuated that Mendelssohn's adherence to Judaism was prompted solely by selfishness. Mendelssohn disposed of him in a few words in a potscript to a missive addressed to Lavater. Mendelssohn profited by this slander in so far as respectable writers left him alone; they dreaded to have their names associated with Kölbele. Mendelssohn came off victorious; public opinion held him in higher respect for championing so manfully the cause of his ancestral faith.

It was, however, on that very account that he exposed himself to attack on the part of the Jewish zealots. As a lover of truth, he had often stated that "he found in Judaism human admixtures and abuses." This expression gave offence to all those who regarded as divine revelation every custom, no matter how un-Jewish, that had been sanctioned by time and by the code. On account of this expression he was taken to task, probably by Hirschel Levin, the then rabbi of Berlin, and asked for further explanation. His reply probably satisfied the rabbi who was no zealot. But the Zealots, whom he called "the Kölbeles of our coreligionists," questioned his orthodoxy, after all.

He soon gave occasion to heighten this suspicion. The Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, in a kindly paternal manner, prohibited the Jews of his land (April, 1772) to bury their corpses so quickly, as was the Jewish custom, that the dead could not be distinguished from an asphyxiated person. The Jewish sense of piety toward the dead, not to expose them to corruption above ground, took offence at this edict as a violation of their religion. The community of Schwerin implored Jacob Emden of Altona, the already aged champion of orthodoxy, to come to their rescue and to prove from Talmudic and rabbinic sources that any prolonged delay in the burying of the dead was in violation of an essential principle of Judaism. Emden referred them to Mendelssohn whose word carried weight with princes; and they followed his advice. To their great astonishment, Mendelssohn replied (May, 1772) that he heartily endorsed the ducal edict not to bury dead bodies before the third day because reliable physicians testified from experience that there were cases of suspended animation. He pointed out over and above that, in Talmudic times, precautions were taken to prevent such a horrible occurrence. His opinion was composed in an irreproachable rabbinic style, even to a fault which he committed. But Emden, in his excessive piety, attached to this doubtful question almost the importance of an article of faith. There thus ensued a somewhat strained relation between Mendelssohn and the Zealots which increased later on.

Meanwhile, his friend Lessing had, just before his death, unintentionally raised a storm in Germany that shook the cathedrals and at the same time, under the influence of his artistic impulses, glorified Mendelssohn and the Jews with him in a poetic masterpiece. The immediate cause of this storm was Mendelssohn's polemic with Lavater. Lessing was so indignant at the defiant attitude of the representative of ecclesiastical Christianity that he urged his Jewish friend, with all the force at his command, to enter into a vigorous combat with it. "You alone possess the power and the ability to write and to speak boldly on this subject, and are therefore infinitely more fortunate than all other honest men who cannot assist in the overthrow of the abominable structure of nonsense except under the pretext of underpropping it again." In the course of his unsettled life which bespoke his restless spirit, Lessing had come to Hamburg, and had become acquainted with the estimable and liberal family of Reimarus. The profound theologian Hermann Samuel Reimarus, in his indignation at the pedantic and arrogant Lutheran Christianity of the Hamburg pastors, had written an "Apology for the Rational Worshippers of God" which was to procure for reason the justice of which it had been deprived and which, at the same time, disparages the founder of Christianity. But Reimarus did not have the courage to expose publicly the mischief wrought by the dominant religion, according to his conviction. He left this work, which harbored dangerous inflammatory material in its recesses, as a legacy to his family and, in a measure, to a secret order of free-thinkers. His noble daughter, Eliza Reimarus, delivered fragments of this dangerous book to Lessing, who read it with fervor and decided to publish it. When he took charge of the library of the Duke of Brunswick in Wolfenbüttel, he was given the liberty of publishing the valuable manuscripts contained in the rich collection. In the interest of truth, he permitted himself to practice deception, and to palm off the "Fragments of an Unknown Author" as a work which he had found in the library and written by a man who lived a generation before. Under this disguise he began the publication (1770-75) of contributions to the "History and Literature from the Treasures of the Library of Wolfenbüttel."

In one fragment the impossibility of miracles is demonstrated, and the credibility of Jesus' resurrection, the pivotal doctrine of Christianity, is questioned with particular emphasis. In one chapter, "The Aim of Jesus and His Disciples," is analyzed to the effect that Jesus wished to set himself up as the Jewish Messiah and as king of the Jews. With that object in view, he had formed a conspiracy with his disciples for the overthrow of the High Court (the Sanhedrin). But when this conspiracy miscarried and Jesus had to endure the death penalty, his disciples declared: "The kingdom of Jesus is not of this world." The gospels had misrepresented the original teaching of Jesus.

This treatment of primitive Christianity, calculated to overthrow the entire Christian religion, created an impression of surprise and stupefaction. Statesmen and citizens were as much affected by it as theologians. The Zealots, therefore, poured all the vials of their wrath upon Lessing, the publisher of this blasphemy. He was attacked on all sides with none to embrace his cause. But ever accustomed to battle vigorously and single-handed against insipidity and unreason, Lessing was able to defend himself. He defeated his enemies one after another, and most emphatically of all, Pastor Göze of Hamburg, who was the embodiment of blind, arrogant, malicious orthodoxy. As his pigmy opponents were unable to overcome this champion in literary combat, they invoked the aid of the secular arm; Lessing's contributions were stopped, confiscated; he was compelled to turn over the manuscript of the Fragments, was denied the freedom of the press, and was ordered to write no more on this subject (1778). The zealots fulminated against him from the pulpits; he determined to answer them from the stage. The most recent, ripest and most perfect child of his muse, "Nathan the Wise," was to be his avenger.

To the chagrin of the insolent, pious Christians who, notwithstanding their narrowness and intolerance, arrogated every virtue to themselves and charged all Jews indiscriminately with every conceivable vice, Lessing depicted a Jew as the spotless ideal of virtue, wisdom and conscientiousness—an ideal which he found personified in Moses Mendelssohn. The hero of his immortal drama is a philosopher and merchant like Mendelssohn "as good as he is clever, and as clever as he is wise."

"· · · Free from every prejudice,
His soul, his heart attuned to every virtue,

In harmony with all beauty.
. . . What a Jew!
Who wishes to appear so thoroughly a Jew."

A son of Judaism, Nathan, reached the highest degree of human nobility because his religion, too, prescribed such gentleness. In the course of a massacre instituted by fanatic crusaders, a savage Christian horde had murdered all the Jews of Jerusalem, with their wives and children, and burned Nathan's wives and seven promising sons. With the heroic patience of a Job, he submitted to the divine decree. In the midst of his poignant grief, a horseman brings him a young, delicate orphaned Christian girl and Nathan received her, carried her to his camp, kissed her, and knelt before God in gratitude for providing him at least with one child in place of the seven he had lost. This Christian girl he loved, and he reared her with extreme scrupulousness. He instilled into Recha's or Blanca's young soul neither this nor that, and, least of all, his own religion, but taught her a pure, divine worship, ideal virtue and morality. Such was the conduct of the representative of Judaism.

The representative of Christianity acts in an entirely different manner in this drama. The patriarch of Jerusalem, whose church and himself were merely tolerated in the Mohammedan city, engages in treacherous designs against the sultan:

"For, the patriarch held, that villainy
To man is no villainy in the eyes
Of God."

He wishes to burn Nathan at the stake because he had cherished, loved and raised to charming womanhood an abandoned Christian child. Without the help of the Jew, the child would have been a prey to pitiless wretchedness:

"No matter, the Jew must be burned."

The knight-templar, Leu von Filneck, represents another side of Christianity. Though noble-minded, he entertains toward the Jew nothing but insolence and contempt. Such was the best Christian! Only little by little, through the magic power of love, does the knight-templar cast off the coarse, ugly crust of his Christian prejudices. There is Mohammedan blood flowing in his veins. Only the holy simplicity of the monk Bonafides still connects human kindness with monastic religiosity; but the good monk acknowledges only one duty: obedience; and he, too, would have committed the most atrocious crime at the urgent behest of the fanatically cruel patriarch.

This lesson Lessing preached to the hardened souls of the Christians from his stage. The wise Jew, Nathan-Mendelssohn, already stands at the height of human nobility; the best Christian must first free himself from callous prejudices before he could attain it. Bragging that one possesses the only true religion and the only means of salvation is folly. Who possesses the original ring? How can that be distinguished from the imitations? By all means through gentleness, whole-hearted tolerance, benevolence, and sincere devotion to God—in a word, through everything which the ecclesiastical Christianity of that day did not display too much and which Mendelssohn exemplified to perfection.

In every line of this drama Lessing scourged the narrow, intolerant Christianity, and glorified Judaism in the person of its representative. The publication of this drama (Spring, 1779) aroused violent wrath against him, as though he had degraded Christianity. Even his friends presented him a cold shoulder, avoided him, excluded him, who was fond of society, from their social circle, and left him to the persecution of his enemies. This tacit proscription hurt him deeply; he gradually lost his buoyancy of spirit, and became weary, sleepy, almost stupid. The zealots embittered the last year of his life to the full. He died in the prime of life (1781), a martyr to his love of truth. But his sincere plea in behalf of mutual toleration made itself heard in the end and gradually softened the discord of hatred and prejudice.

As Mendelssohn had, unconsciously and unintentionally, stimulated Lessing to create an ideal, and through him assisted in banishing the prejudices against the Jews, he at the same time and with as little premeditation brought about the spiritual deliverance of his coreligionists which introduced the era of regeneration. The bible and particularly the Pentateuch, the all-in-all of Judaism, had become as strange as a closed book to its adherents, though very many knew it by heart. The rabbinic and cabalistic commentators had so distorted the simple, literal sense of the Bible that they discovered therein everything excepting its correct and true contents. The Polish teachers—and there were no other—with the rod and with angry countenance taught the Jewish youth at a tender age to look in this sacred book for the most absurd perversities, translated it in their ugly jargon, and mixed the text up with their translation so closely that it seemed that Moses himself had spoken in the gibberish of the Polish Jews. Thus, what should have served as a cordial for the soul had been changed into poison. The misconstruction and distortion of the Bible was a source of profound grief to Mendelssohn, who clearly perceived that Holy Writ did not contain "what Jews and Christians believed they found therein," and that a simple, judicious translation would prove an important step in promoting culture among the Jews. But owing to his modesty and timidity, it did not occur to him to employ this means of education for his coreligionists. He prepared a translation of the Pentateuch for his children only, and it was only upon the urgent request of other people that he decided to publish his German translation of the Pentateuch for the use of Jewish readers.

But he knew his Jewish public too well not to realize that a translation, no matter how excellent it might be, would meet with little success unless it were embellished with a Hebrew annotation. Under the depraved taste of the Jewish reader of that time, of what value was a book without a commentary? From time immemorial, ever since commentaries and super-commentaries came into existence, these were more popular than the finest text. Mendelssohn therefore induced a scholarly Polish Jew, Solomon Dubno, to undertake the preparation of a running commentary. In procuring subscribers for this work, it became evident that Mendelssohn already had so many adherents and admirers within and without Germany that his undertaking, destined to remove the reproach of ignorance and of corruption of language, would be greeted with joy. It may be regarded as a sign of the times that the list of subscribers included Christians, too—professors, pastors, court preachers, councillors of consistories and titled personages. Indeed, Mendelssohn's Christian friends were extraordinarily active in furthering the interest of his work. Eliza Reimarus, his own and Lessing's noble friend, herself procured subscriptions for this book. But the stubborn adherents of the old and the traditional were filled with anxiety. They felt instinctively that the old era, the naive credulity that regards everything as it is as a divine emanation, would be doomed as a result of this enterprise.

As soon as a specimen of the translation was made public, the rabbis of the old school took a dislike to it, and laid plans to keep the enemy out of the house of Jacob. Three rabbis of Polish birth—Ezekiel Landau, rabbi of Prague; Raphael Kohen, rabbi of the three communities of Hamburg, Altona and Wandsbeck, and Hirsch Janow (Hariff) of Fürth—offered a determined opposition to the publication of the translation, as the monks formerly did to Luther's translation. In Fürth, the German Pentateuch of "Moses Dessau," was placed under the ban. All loyal Jews were forbidden to make use of this translation on pain of excommunication. In some Polish cities, in Posen and Lissa, the work was to be publicly consigned to the flames. However, opposition from that quarter could not prove very prejudicial to the dissemination of this work; more was to be feared from the attitude of the reckless and generally respected Raphael Kohen, rabbi of Hamburg and Altona. As a matter of fact, he did place the book, though not the author, under the ban; but its effect was weakened from the beginning. As Mendelssohn's friend, the state-councillor Von Hennigs, contrived to place the name of King Christian of Denmark and of the crown prince at the head of the list of subscribers, the rabbi officiating in the domain of that king dared not actively oppose such a work. As a matter of fact, the charge of heresy placed against Mendelssohn's translation rendered the work more attractive. Behind the backs of their teachers who opposed the new tendency, the Talmudic students seized upon the new German translation, and in secret nooks learned from it simultaneously the elementary and the sublime, the German language and theology, Hebrew grammar and poetry, and obtained a new view of life in consequence. As though touched by a magic wand, the spirit of this band of Talmudic devotees, these emaciated forms of the musty Talmudic school houses, suddenly acquired wings by means of which they rose above the gloomy present and soared heavenward. An insatiable craving for knowledge took possession of them; since then no department of knowledge, no matter how obscure, remained closed to them. The ingenuity, quick comprehension and deep penetration which the study of the Talmud had developed in these youths to a high degree, made it easy for them to find their way in the new world that just opened before them. Thousands of Talmudic students from the different large academies of Hamburg, Prague, Nikolsburg, Frankfort-on-the-Main, Fürth, and even of Poland, became nothing but youthful, little Mendelssohns. All these men who at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century exerted a public influence in every direction, were, up to a certain time, one-sided Talmudists, and it was only under Mendelssohn's inspiration that they became standard-bearers of culture among the Jews. Mendelssohn's translation speedily paved the way for a veritable regeneration of the Jews.

The external deliverance of the Jews from their thousand-year-old bondage, like the stimulus to their inner deliverance, is also connected with Mendelssohn's name, and was likewise accomplished unintentionally, without noise or calculation on his part. It therefore appears like a miracle, without the least miraculous incident. He provided the Jews with two champions, than which no more zealous or enthusiastic could be found—Lessing and Dohm. It was a persecution that excited sympathy for the Jews and led to their deliverance from bondage.

Perhaps in no portion of Europe were the Jews so oppressed as in the German province of Alsace and in Metz, which had been acquired by France. All the motives of virulent Jew-hatred, the intolerance of the Church, racial antipathy, a high-handed nobility, greed, jealousy on the part of the guilds and brutality—all combined to render the life of the Jews of Alsace in the century of enlightenment a constant torment. Moreover, this persecution was so petty in its nature that it could not even incite its victims to a heroic resistance. Both the nobility and the burghers were deaf to the voice of humanity that spoke so eloquently in French literature and did not yield one iota of their legal rights in the Jews who were reduced almost to serfdom. In Alsace, the nobility were at liberty to admit new Jews as well as to banish old, established families. In Metz the merchants had a law passed that limited the number of Jews to 480 families. This regulation produced the same effect as in Austria and Prussia: it condemned younger sons to celibacy or exile from their father's house and the daughters to old-maidenhood. As a matter of course, the Jews of Alsace and of Metz were shut in in ghettos, and were permitted to visit the other quarters of the city only on exceptional occasions. In return, they had to pay exorbitant taxes. Louis XIV made a present to the Duke of Brancas and to the Countess de Fontaine of a portion of the revenue accruing from the Jews of Metz, amounting annually to twenty thousand livres, and in addition the Jews had to pay a poll-tax, commercial tax, house tax, contributions to a church and hospital, and war taxes, and other exactions under various names. In Alsace they had to pay protection money to the king, duties to the Bishop of Strassburg, to the Count of Hagenau, residence taxes to the nobles in whose feudal domain they lived, and war taxes. The right of settlement did not descend even upon the oldest son, but had to be purchased from the lord, as though the son were a stranger seeking protection. Whence were they to derive all these taxes and still maintain their schools and synagogs? Nearly every trade and business was forbidden them in Alsace; they could engage legally only in the cattle trade and in the gold and silversmith's work. If they desired to make a journey outside of their narrow province, they had to pay a special poll-tax. In Strassburg no Jew was permitted to tarry overnight. What was left to them but to obtain the money indispensable to their wretched existence by illegal means, by means of usury? Those who possessed money advanced it to the small tradesmen, farmers and vine-dressers on the risk of losing it, and exacted a high rate of interest in return, or employed other artifices. This rendered them still more hated, and the poverty that prevailed among the people was laid at their door. They found themselves in the sad plight of being compelled to cause unhappiness to others and to themselves.

A court-clerk, not without brains and literary culture, named Hell exploited this wretched position of the Alsatian Jews to his own advantage, and brought them to the very brink of a bloody persecution. Originally poor, and coveting a high position, and familiar with the artifices employed by the Jewish usurers, he learned the Hebrew language expressly for the purpose of plundering them without fear of detection. He sent them threatening letters in Hebrew that they would be arraigned for usury and fraud unless they paid him a certain sum of money. And when he was at last appointed a provincial judge for several Alsatian nobles, the Jews were entirely at his mercy. Those who did not satisfy his ever-increasing exactions were indicted and convicted. As his acts of injustice partly came to light and he became an object of suspicion, his hatred of the Jews incited him to still greater crimes. He pointed out to the debtors how they could free themselves from the burdensome debts they owed their Jewish creditors if they would make use of forged receipts for debts already paid. Some of his agents traversed Alsace and wrote such receipts. The conscientious debtors had their scruples allayed by the clergy who recommended the robbing of Jews as an act pleasing to God. The timid were reassured by an impostor engaged for this purpose, who distributed orders and crosses, ostensibly in the name of the king, among those who were willing to accept forged receipts, to exhibit them and to institute proceedings against the Jews for oppression and fraud. The unhappy debtors combined with scoundrels and priests to importune the weak-minded Louis XVI to put an end to the confusion by expelling the Jews from Alsace. To fan the flame of hatred against the Jews and to incite the populace to violence against them, Hell wrote a venomous booklet (1779), "Observations of an Alsatian on the Present Law-Suits of the Jews in Alsace," in which he painted the Jews in the blackest colors. He admitted in this booklet that receipts had been forged, but this act was the consequence of a decree of Providence to whom alone vengeance appertains. It was an attempt to avenge the crucifixion of Jesus. But the spirit of toleration had already gathered sufficient strength to take energetic measures against such deceit. Hell's base artifices were exposed; he was arrested in the name of the king and was afterward ordered to leave Alsace. The king issued an edict (May, 1780) to the effect that lawsuits against usurers should henceforth be tried not by the provincial courts of the nobles, but by the council of state of Alsace.

One result of this incident was that the Alsatian Jews finally aroused themselves, gathered courage enough to declare that their position was an intolerable one, and appealed to the king Louis XVI for redress. Their representative (Cerf Berr) memorialized the council of state on the inhuman laws in force against them, and made suggestions for the amelioration of their condition. They felt, however, that a memorial of this nature should be drawn up in such a way as to exert an influence also upon public opinion which, at that time, shortly before the Revolution, was already as powerful as the king. As there was no man in their own midst who was equal to the occasion, they naturally turned to Mendelssohn, whom the Jews of Europe began to regard as their mighty champion, sent him the necessary material, and besought him to give their petition the polished and impressive form it required. Mendelssohn had neither the leisure nor possibly the skill requisite for such work; fortunately he had gained at this time a new friend and admirer who, by virtue of his knowledge and official position, was best qualified to write such a memorial. Christian Wilhelm Dohm (1751-1820) had been recently appointed by Frederick the Great as keeper of the archives with the title of Councillor of War, because of his thorough knowledge of history. Like all aspiring youths and men of that day, he sought the acquaintance of the Jewish philosopher and, like all who came within Mendelssohn's circle, was charmed by his keen, gentle personality. Every cultivated Christian who came in contact with Mendelssohn was so agreeably impressed by his character that he cast aside his anti-Jewish prejudices and conceived a feeling of mingled admiration and pity for a people that had endured so many tribulations and was still capable of producing from its midst such a personality. Dohm had already entertained the idea of making a comprehensive study of the "History of the Jewish Nation Since the Destruction of Its Own State." He therefore soon evinced his readiness to collaborate with Mendelssohn in giving an attractive form to the petition of the Alsatian Jews. While engaged in this work, it occurred to him to publish an apology not merely for individuals, but for the German Jews in general who endured like oppression and humiliation. This gave rise to his memorable essay, "On the Improvement of the Civil Condition of the Jews" (completed Aug., 1781), the first literary production that contributed toward lifting the heavy yoke from the neck of the Jews. Dohm, like Lessing with his "Nathan the Wise," thus partly atoned for the great wrong of the enslavement and degradation of the Jews to which the German people had so largely contributed.

Dohm's apology ignored the religious element entirely, but addressed itself to sober, enlightened statesmen, and emphasized strongly the political and economic point of view. The noble humanitarian who first advocated the emancipation of the negro had surely fewer obstacles to overcome than had Dohm in his advocacy of the liberation of the Jews. The very circumstances that should have appeared in their favor, their intelligence and their energy, their agentship in spreading the pure knowledge of God and Morality and their ancient nobility—all these circumstances proved greatly prejudicial to their interests. Their intelligence and energy were interpreted as cunning and greed; their pride in the origin of their law was regarded as presumption and irreligion, and any reference to their ancient nobility as insolence. What heroic courage it required to appeal in their behalf to all classes of Christian society despite the manifold anti-Jewish prejudices and animosities that prevailed!

Dohm depicted eloquently and sympathetically the unspeakably wretched position of the Jews. Under such crushing conditions even the rarest genius could hardly retain enough courage and spirit to aspire to the fine arts and the sciences. And even these men of unusual ability who had gained distinction in those branches of knowledge, as well as those who, by unimpeachable probity, reflect glory upon humanity, can gain the respect of only the few; the many cannot excuse even in those who possess the rarest gifts of heart and mind the fault of "being a Jew." The governments must endeavor to promote the general enlightenment of the Jews and the morality which is independent of their religion.

Dohm reviews the history of the Jews of Europe, how in the early centuries they enjoyed full citizenship in the Roman empire and must therefore have been deemed worthy of it; and how they were reduced to outlawry first by the Byzantines, and afterward by the German barbarians and by the Visigoths of Spain in particular. The Jews had taken over more culture from the Roman empire than the dominant nations possessed. In Spain the Jews and the Arabs had attained to a higher degree of civilization than Christian Europe. He then reviewed the false accusations invented against the Jews and the persecutions to which they were subjected during the Middle Ages, and his description makes the Christians appear as cruel barbarians and the Jews, on the other hand, as glorified martyrs. The Jews, to be sure, possess faults some of which are possibly so deep-rooted that it will require three or four generations for their eradication. This, however, is no reason why the process of reclamation should not begin with the present generation; for, unless a beginning is made, the reclaimed generation will never come into existence. Dohm maintained further that better results are to be expected from the Jews because they possessed ability, and some of them evinced superior talents and skill. They particularly possess shrewdness, discrimination, industry, application and adaptability to all circumstances.

The conclusion of Dohm's argument was that the Jews had been endowed by nature with the same capacity to become better and more useful members of society as other people, but that the oppression to which they were subjected, and which is a disgrace to the present age, had corrupted them, and that it would be in conformity with the dictates of humanity and justice, as well as of enlightened policy, to remove this pressure and to improve the condition of the Jews to their own welfare as well as to that of the State. "I even venture to felicitate that state which would first carry these principles into execution. It would create new, loyal and grateful subjects in its own midst; it would turn its own Jews into good citizens."

Dohm suggested also the means by which the amelioration of the condition of the Jews was to be brought about, and his wise suggestions formed a program for the future. First of all, they are to be granted equal rights with all other subjects. Their moral improvement is to be promoted by establishing good schools of their own, or by the admission of the Jewish youth to the Christian schools as well as by developing the minds of the adults in the synagogs. But the Christians, too, must be impressed through sermons or other effective means that they regard and treat the Jews as their brothers and fellow-men. Dohm wished that they be given freedom in internal, religious affairs, the right to exercise their religion, appoint teachers and provide for their poor. He would deny them only one right, the right to hold public office. Even Dohm could not reach such a height as to admit that Jews possessed the qualifications necessary for public service. But the immediate future soon disproved his scruples.

Dohm anticipated that his program for the emancipation of the Jews would meet with the most violent and stubborn opposition on the part of the professors and theologians. He therefore addressed himself to the "wisdom of the governments" that were more inclined toward reform and enlightenment than the peoples. It must be admitted that Mendelssohn was of a great assistance to Dohm in his work, and even though he did not write to Mendelssohn's dictation, the latter had inspired him with his own spirit of gentleness and humanity, and had enlightened him on those points which were strange and obscure to a Christian and political writer." Mendelssohn is therefore to be regarded as the sponsor, if not the father, of Dohm's apology.

Dohm's work met with great popularity soon after its appearance; was read and discussed; many people, to be sure, censured it, refuted it, and but few approved it. Slanderers spread the report at once that Dohm had sold himself to the Jews for a high price. The fact is, however, that the only tokens of appreciation the Jews conferred upon him were: a silver service, given him by the representatives of the Jewish community of Berlin on his birthday; a letter of thanks, sent him by the representatives of the Jewish community of Brazil, and the compliment paid him by a Jewish family of Breslau in assuming the name of Dohm in his honor. But Dohm's work made a deep impression also in favor of the Jews. Fortune began to smile upon the Jews, after turning her back upon them for so many centuries. Dohm's work had hardly appeared when the Emperor Joseph II issued a series of laws bearing upon the Jews that were prompted by sincere philanthropy though violent in manner.

First of all, they were given permission (Oct. 19, 1781) to learn handicrafts, the arts and sciences, as well as to engage in agriculture, though under certain restrictions. The doors of universities and academies, hitherto closed to them, were thrown open. The emperor, as an advocate of "philosophic morality," interested himself particularly in the education of the Jewish youth. He ordered accordingly the establishment of Jewish elementary and high (normal) schools, and practically forced the adults also to acquire the language of the land since henceforth only such documents were to be valid that were drawn up in that language. He delicately obviated the religious intolerance that could possibly be imposed upon the Jews in this connection. In the course of instruction, everything that might offend their religion must be omitted. One edict provides that Jews must everywhere be respected as "fellow-men," and all excesses against them must be avoided. Joseph II abolished also the poll-tax (Leibzoll) which dishonored the Christians even more than the Jews. The emperor did not aim at the complete emancipation of the Jews; on the contrary, they were still forbidden to live in those cities from which Christian intolerance had excluded them hitherto. Even in Vienna Jews were to be admitted only by way of exception upon the payment of protection money. They were not even permitted to maintain a public synagog in Vienna. But the emperor permitted the Jews of the higher classes and their sons to carry a sword (Jan. 2, 1782). He especially urged the Christians to treat the Jews with friendliness. On this account, Klopstock composed an ode in honor of Joseph II.

A beginning was thus made. The ignominy of a thousand years that had been forced upon the people of Judaea by the unkindness of the Church, the greed of the princes and the stupidity of the peoples, was partly, at least, removed from them in one country. Dohm's proposals were consequently treated with considerable respect; they were regarded not as Utopian dreams but as political principles deserving consideration. Scholars, clergymen, statesmen and princes began to occupy themselves seriously with the Jewish question. Dohm's friend Diez, one of the noblest men of that transition period, afterward Prussian ambassador to Turkey, believed that Dohm's demands in behalf of the Jews were too inadequate. "You state very truly," he remarked, "that the present moral perversity of the Jew is the result of oppression. But in order to give the picture its proper coloring and to mitigate the reproach against the Jews, it would have been very useful to describe also the moral perversity of the Christians, which is surely not less objectionable than that of the Jews and rather the cause thereof." The representatives of German scholasticism, those pedants who regarded religion, art and science as their peculiar province to which no stranger must gain any access, united in disparaging the Jews. The more learning, the more confusion, conceit and intolerance. Johann David Michaelis, a theologian and student of Hebrew who reviewed Dohm's treatise in a popular journal, had maintained several decades before, upon the appearance of Lessing's drama, "The Jew," that a noble Jew was a poetic impossibility. It is true that experience in the person of Mendelssohn and other notable Jews had given the lie to that assertion; but a German professor is infallible.

Michaelis persisted in the assertion that the Jews were an incorrigible race. Even the imposition of protection money upon the Jews he regarded as right and proper. His invectives against the Jews did not hurt them for the time being; for, even without such attacks, the German princes and peoples would never have emancipated the Jews if they had not been forced to it by the imperative course of history. Even Frederick the Great, for whom Dohm's essay was really intended, did not afford them the least relief. A petition drawn up by Ephraim Veitel (who was an accessory in the debasement of the coinage) to the effect that Jews be at least permitted to engage in handicrafts, was ignored. Dohm's great merit consisted in creating a public opinion on the Jewish question. The Jews of France were the first to benefit by it. The strange concatenations of historic events! Hell, the malicious provincial judge of Alsace, by his determination to annihilate the Alsatian Jews, had assisted in paving the way for the emancipation of the Jews of France.

In this movement, too, Mendelssohn kept prudently in the background; he wished to avoid the appearance of being a partisan advocate of his race and religion. But he was happy at the manifestation of sympathy for his unfortunate coreligionists: "I thank an all-good Providence that has permitted me at the close of my life to witness this happy period in which the rights of humanity in its true extent are beginning to be considered." Two reasons, however, impelled him to break his silence. He found that Dohm did not, after all, hurl enough harpoons at the thick-skinned monster of Jew-hatred. To obviate the false inferences to which Dohm's well-meaning apology threatened to lead, and at the same time to check as much as possible the persistent misunderstanding of the Jews, he induced his young friend, the physician Marcus Herz, to translate from the English into the German Manasseh ben Israel's defense of the Jews against the many false accusations made against them, and prefaced it with luminous, ardent thoughts, "Salvation of Israel," as a supplement to Dohm's work (March, 1792).

Mendelssohn already enjoyed such a high reputation that every new work that bore his name was read eagerly. The main thought of his preface to Menasseh ben Israel's defense, that religion need not employ coercive measures, disconcerted Christian readers. Ever since its accession to power, the Church had persecuted the heretics and infidels with excommunication, dungeon, torture and the stake, whereas a Jew maintains now that religion should employ only gentleness and love! Enlightened Christian clergymen openly applauded the father of this thought. On the other hand, a Christian writer, in a work entiled, "Quest After Light and Truth," remonstrated with Mendelssohn that he had thrown off his mask at last; he had turned to the religion of love, and renounced his ancestral religion that imposes curses and penalties. This compelled Mendelssohn to emerge from his seclusion a second time, and to express his sentiments on the subject of religion. This he did in his "Jerusalem" or "Religious Authority and Judaism" (Spring, 1783). In this book he advances an original theory of government in accordance with which the authorities can exercise their power only over actions, but by no means over thoughts and opinions. The Church has still less right to punish. Its sole function is to teach and comfort. Ecclesiastical chastising, excluding, stigmatizing, not to speak of persecuting and burning, are a presumption and a perversity.

Judaism recognizes this intrinsic freedom of religious convictions. For this reason, ancient, pure Judaism has no binding dogmas, no symbolic books upon which the believer must be sworn or obligated, and, in general, prescribes not faith, but knowledge and understanding. Within the sphere of this religion, generally held in such contempt, every individual may hold to any opinion, no matter how erroneous, without being subjected to the charge of heresy. Its jurisdiction begins only when the wrong opinion is translated into obvious action. Judaism is not revealed *religion,* but revealed *legislation.* In the constitution that emanated from God, state and religion are one and the same. In former times, civil laws had, at the same time, a religious authority; to serve the state was to serve God. Every offence, that is every illegal act, was an offence against the authority of God, and consequently a crime against the state. With the destruction of the Temple, that is, with the dissolution of the state, all corporal and capital punishment, even mere fines, on account of religious transgressions come to an end.

In refutation of those who, seriously or mockingly, had spread the report that Mendelssohn was at variance with Judaism, he laid special stress upon another point that really had no special bearing upon the subject under discussion, namely, that the so-called ritual laws of Judaism were likewise and emphatically of divine origin, and that their validity must continue "until it please the Most High to abolish them as distinctly and publicly as he had revealed them." He demonstrates the necessity and reasonableness of the ritualistic laws in a characteristic manner.

The success of "Jerusalem" was considerably greater than Mendelssohn expected. Instead of apologizing he appeared as an accuser, and had disclosed as gently as emphatically the ugly sides of the Church and of the Christian theory of government. Kant, already known to fame as a great philosopher, wrote him that he had read "Jerusalem," and that he admired the keenness, elegance and ingenuity of his treatise. "I regard this book as the promulgation of a great reform that concerns not alone your nation, but other nations as well. You have succeeded in combining your religion with a degree of freedom of conscience which no one believed it capable of possessing and the like of which no other can boast." Michaelis, the rationalistic Jew-baiter; was bewildered, confounded and put to shame as a result of the bold ideas contained in "Jerusalem." Judaism, upon which he looked down with such contempt, raised its head triumphantly. Thus impelled not by his own volition, but by the force of circumstances, Mendelssohn glorified Judaism, and removed the reproach from his people. Meanwhile, Dohm also continued his activity in behalf of Jewish emancipation, and refuted all candid as well as malicious objections. But even more so than through his book, Dohm rendered the Jewish people a signal service by inducing Mirabeau, the destined leader of a new order of things, to champion the Jewish cause. Mirabeau relieved Dohm.

At the same time and in the same way, Mendelssohn gave another stimulus to the inner rejuvenescence of the Jews which was to keep pace with their political emancipation. Just as he had aroused Dohm to champion the one cause, he stimulated another friend who was peculiarly fitted for that mission to undertake the other. Hartwig (Hartog, Naphtali Herz) Wessely (born in Hamburg 1725, died 1805) possessed a peculiar nature, at once visionary and practical. The Scriptures in the original formed the centre of his inner life; to master them from every angle was his life's mission. Like Mendelssohn, Wessely was his own teacher. He, too, developed early a sense of beauty, an appreciation of purity of language and form, and a repugnance to corruption of speech. Wessely resembled Mendelssohn also in this, that his moral character developed out of a strict conscientiousness and a high sense of honor. He lacked, however, Mendelssohn's fine flexibility; he was rather stiff and pedantic, more of a hyper-critic and quibbler than a thinker, and had no true conception of the workings of the forces that move the world. He was drawn into public activity by Mendelssohn. The community of Trieste, composed largely of Italian and Portuguese Jews who, unlike the German Jews, did not regard education as heresy, inquired of Count Zinzendorf, the governor of the province, where they could obtain text-books for religious and moral instruction in the normal schools to be established in accordance with the order of the emperor Joseph II. Zinzendorf referred them to Mendelssohn, and Joseph Hayim Galaigo, in the names of the community of Trieste, addressed himself to the Jewish sage of Berlin on that subject. Mendelssohn thereupon called attention to his friend Wessely and to his open letter in recommendation of the establishment of Jewish schools, and the community of Trieste entered into correspondence with him. Wessely was very enthusiastic over the laws issued by Emperor Joseph in favor of the Jews, and his visionary nature saw therein the promise of the dawn of a golden age for the Jewish people, whereas the discriminating Mendelssohn did not attach so much importance to them from the beginning. Wessely, on the other hand, was impelled by his enthusiasm to write a psalm of praise in honor of Emperor Joseph's imperial greatness and magnaminity. As soon as he learned that the ultra-orthodox Jews of Vienna were grief-stricken at the command to establish schools as though it were doing violence to their religion, he addressed an open letter in Hebrew (March, 1782), "Words of Peace and Truth," to the Austrian communities, to admonish them to welcome the imperial decree as a benefaction. In this letter he sets forth that it is the religious duty of the Jews, recommended by the Talmud itself, to acquire general education, and proposes a sort of curriculum by means of which the Jewish youth could be led from step to step, from the elementary subjects to the study of the Talmud. But this letter aroused a storm of indignation against him on the part of the zealots. In the first place, they were greatly exasperated at his enthusiasm for Emperor Joseph's reforms. In addition, he had unwisely made use of the Talmudic statement: "A Talmudist who does not possess (general) knowledge is more hideous than an ass." This application of the Talmudic phrase aroused the ire of the ultra-Talmudists to an extraordinary degree. The Austrian rabbis dared not take steps openly against Wessely since he had written in support of the emperor; but it seems that they instigated several Polish rabbis to condemn the open letter, and to excommunicate its author. Hirschel, the chief rabbi of Berlin, also threatened to take measures against Wessely; however, in the city where Mendelssohn held spiritual sway, as it were, even a slight accusation of heresy against Wessely could not prove effective.

Although the zealots could gain no support from Berlin, they continued to hurl anathemas at Wessely, and, in Lissa, his "Open Letter" was publicly burned. It is the irony of historic concatenation that the most orthodox of the Mendelssohnians unintentionally began the struggle against rabbinism, just as the cabalist Jacob Emden had dealt the first violent blow at the cabala. Little by little several Italian rabbis of Trieste, Ferrara and Venice, expressed themselves in Wessely's favor, and advocated the cause of education. Wessely proved victorious. Here and there, even in Prague, there arose schools for regular instruction. But the ultra-Talmudists were right after all. Their suspicion divined the future more deeply than Mendelssohn's and Wessely's confidence. Both men who felt so perfectly at home in the ancient, solid edifice, and who desired only to remove its cobwebs here and there, themselves contributed to the gradual crumbling of its foundation.

Wessely, the ever-unfortunate, still lived to witness this ruin with tear-stained eyes. But Mendelssohn, the fortunate, was spared this sorrow. As he set about erecting a monument to his unforgotten friend, and demonstrating his real greatness to future generations, he learned through Jacobi that, shortly before his death, Lessing had shown a decided tendency towards Spinoza's philosophy. "Lessing a Spinozaist!" This proved a severe blow to Mendelssohn. He had a presentiment that his own philosophy, since Lessing found it unpalatable, would be discarded as antiquated. This thought disturbed his peace in the last years of his life, and hastened his death (1786). He died at the right time and was spared the anguish which would have been his when one of his daughters forsook husband and child to follow a paramour, another kissed the foot of the pope as a pious Catholic, and one of his sons in thoughtless contempt of the religion in which his father lived and moved and had his being, led his children to the Church. Almost the entire Prussian capital, as well as many aspiring men within and without Germany, mourned for the man who, four decades before, had anxiously and timidly knocked at one of the gates of Berlin. The very attempt of his Christian friends (Nikolai, Biester and Engel, the tutor of the then crown-prince Frederick Wilhelm III) together with his Jewish admirers, to place Mendelssohn's likeness on a pyramid in the Opernplatz next to those of

Leibnitz, Lambert and Sulzer, though it did not meet with general approval, characterizes the progress of the age. The hunch-back son of the so-called Decalog writer of Dessau became the ornament of Berlin.

CHAPTER II

DISINTEGRATION IN JUDAISM

(1760-1789)

It was to be foreseen that the regeneration of the Jewish people that resulted from Mendelssohn's activities would bring about a disintegration in the forms of religious life within Jewry. The reformers desired it, hoped for it, and directed their efforts toward it; the orthodox suspected and feared it. This process of dissolution set in also in an entirely unexpected place, under entirely different conditions, and by the employment of entirely different means. Poland gave birth to a new Essenism, with ceremonies like those of the ancient sect, with ablutions, white garments, miraculous cures and prophetic visions. Like its prototype it was an offspring of ultra-piety; but it soon turned against its own mother. It seems rather strange that at the very time when Mendelssohn pronounced rational thinking as the essence of Judaism, and organized, as it were, a far-spread Order of the Enlightened, there should arise in Poland an order of Miracle-maniacs who promulgated the wildest superstitions as the fundamental principles of Judaism. Reason and unreason, enlightenment and cabalistic mysticism again made common cause to undermine the foundation of Talmudic and Rabbinic Judaism. The sect of the Neo-Assideans that nowadays proscribes and thwarts the progress of culture among the Jews of Russia, originated in Mendelssohn's time. This order or sect was founded by a carter, Israel of Miedziboz, surnamed Baal Shem Tob (abbreviated into Besht) Orphaned early in life, poor, left to his own devices, Israel spent a large portion of his youth in the woods and grottoes of the Carpathian Mountains where he learned, probably from the peasant women who were engaged in the gathering of herbs, the curative properties of certain plants. Israel adopted also the method of these women who did not trust the curative powers of nature, but added incantations and conjurations of good and evil spirits. He became a quack. In the solitude of the mountains necessity taught him to pray differently than in the synagog, though in the same familiar formula; he pronounced his prayers with fervor and deep devotion, or shouted them aloud in the mountains. While at prayer his whole body shook with violent motions. These motions forced the blood to his head, caused his eyes to glitter, and set his body and soul in such a state of over-excitement that he experienced a sensation of faintness.

Israel Baal Shem maintained that, as a result of such prayers, accompanied as they were by physical excitement and exhaustion, he used to attain a profound view of infinity. There are persons, times and places in which the line of demarcation between fraud and self-deception is hardly distinguishable. In consequence of the high tension produced by the cabala of the Shabbathaian frenzy, everything was possible and credible in Poland in the time when and in the region where Israel lived. As a result of his miraculous cures, he attained such a reputation that even Polish nobles consulted him. Men of similar mind, who possessed a religious craving which they believed could be satisfied neither by a rigid ascetic life nor by the mechanical recital of prescribed formulas, followed him. They joined him in order to pray with devotion, that is, with sing-song and clapping of hands, with bodily motions, with dipping and skipping, with noise and shouting. Almost at the same time there sprung up in England (Wales) a Christian sect called "The Jumpers," who, by similar motions at prayer, fell into raptures and clairvoyancy, and in North America the sect of "Shakers," who, likewise, through frenzy at prayer, pursued mystic fantoms. Mysticism and frenzy proved contagious. Besht attracted particularly those who believed that cheerfulness and heedlessness were the surest means of approaching God and hastening the Messianic Era. They need not pore over the tomes of the Talmud in order to be worthy of participating in a higher godliness. Thus arose the order of Neo-Assideans or Hasidim. In one decade Israel Besht is said to have acquired ten thousand followers, who at first were distinguished from the other Polish Jews only by their peculiar and lengthy prayers, by ablutions before prayers after the manner of the Essenes, by a cheerful demeanor, and possibly also by wearing long curls on their temples. Because the rabbis ridiculed the unlearned head of the new order who gained a following without belonging to the learned class, the Hasidim disparaged the study of the Talmud as incapable of promoting a truly godly life. After the death of Israel Baal Shem, as the demoralization and degeneracy of the new sect kept on increasing, the strained relation between the Hasidim and the Talmudists developed into an absolute schism.

Israel was succeeded by Dob Bär of Meseritz (about 1700-1772), who, unlike his predecessor, was no visionary, but rather a shrewd man who understood human nature well, knew how to produce a desired effect and was, therefore, able to sway the hearts and will of other people for his own purposes. He was acknowledged the chief of the Hasidic sect. Unlike his master, he was conversant with cabalistic literature, and was an able preacher (Maggid) who astounded his hearers by weaving into a harmonious whole the most disconnected biblical verses as well as passages from the Haggadah and the Zohar and utilizing them for his purpose. He was a man of venerable appearance, did not mingle with people, lived in the seclusion of a small room throughout the week, was accessible only to his intimates, and thus lent color to the pretense that he was holding mysterious communication with the celestial world. Only on the Sabbath did he show himself to all those who were anxious to be considered worthy of his look. On that day he appeared gorgeously arrayed in satin, all white (the color of grace), and joined in public prayer after the manner of Israel Besht, with his intimate friends, the strangers who had made a pilgrimage to him, and the newly-acquired disciples as well as the curious who desired to see the cabalistic saint and miracle-worker. To produce the cheerful mood necessary for devout prayer, he used to indulge in common jests, and thereby set his audience in unbridled merriment. In the midst of this childish mirth he would exclaim suddenly: "Now serve the Lord in joy."

Under Bär's leadership Hasidism retained seemingly the same aspect as under his predecessor: fervent, convulsive prayer, rapture, enthusiasm, miraculous cures and revelations of the future. But as these actions did not spring from a peculiar frame of mind or diseased state, as was the case with Israel, but were only counterfeited, affectation or delusion had to supply what nature had denied. The Hasidic leader or Zaddik (the perfectly pious), must needs become enraptured and ecstatic during prayer and see visions. But how could a shrewd schemer appear ecstatic? The alcohol bottle which was such a favorite in Poland had therefore to take the place of the inward, prompting spirit. Bär maintained among his confidants several skilled spies, worthy of the secret police, who ferreted out many secrets and communicated them to their master. This enabled him to assume the aspect of omniscience. Through such and similar methods he succeeded in maintaining his position, and in increasing the number of his followers. Every new convert spread the fame of his divine gifts, and thereby gained for him new disciples.

With the cabalistic formula "the righteous or pious are the foundation of the world," as a basis, he developed the doctrine of the significance of the "Zaddik" or the head of the Hasidim to the point of blasphemy. Such Zaddik is not only the perfect, sinless man, but the Vicar of God and his image. Every thought and act of the Zaddik exerts a decided influence upon heaven and earth. Even the ecstasy produced by his bottle exerts an influence upon the whole universe. What baseless absurdity, the product of cabalistic nonsense. In the seclusion of his "Stübel" or "Klausel," that is, of his dirty little room, Bär regarded himself as great as the papal Vicar of God in his magnificent palace. He sent regular apostles to propagate his teachings.

Two different circumstances favored the spread of Hasidim: the mutual fraternization of the members of the new sect, and the dryness and the pedantry of the study of the Talmud as it was conducted in Poland for over a century. The Hasidim formed from the beginning a sort of Order which provided for its needy members, though it did not have a common treasury as the Essenes of old. For the festivals of the New Year and the Day of Atonement, even those members of the sect who lived at a great distance used to leave their wives and children and make a pilgrimage to the "Zaddik," in order to spend the holy season in the proximity of their chief and to gain edification from his looks and doings.

But serious men, too, felt drawn towards Hasidism in the hope of filling the void in their souls. Rabbinic Judaism, as it was practiced in Poland, offered no religious refreshment to the heart. Its representatives attached the utmost importance to the artificial interpretation of the Talmud and its commentaries, to puzzling out new and complicated legal cases. And this hairsplitting was at the same time regarded as the highest religiosity that placed in the background everything else, even the need for devotion, prayer, genial affection and interest in the moral conduct of the communities. All this was regarded as of secondary importance, hardly deserving of attention. The preachers, those would-be Talmudists, who were treated with contempt by the scholarly rabbis and hardly managed to eke out a miserable existence, turned to Hasidism because among its followers they could turn their talent for preaching to good account, and were protected against want. Through such elements, the circle of the Hasidim widened daily. The new sect had its adherents in every city.

As the new sect grew stronger, its antipathy to the rabbis and Talmudic scholars increased. The dryness, lack of warmth and the hair-splitting of the Talmudic study became the butt of scorn in Hasidic circles. Leib Szerham (Leib ben Joseph, or Reb

Leib Sarah's), one of Bär's disciples, stated: "I sought Bär out in Meseritz not to hear Torah (new Talmudic subtleties) from him, but to see how he removes and ties his shoes; this is more important. What is Torah? Man must himself be Torah in his actions, movements, speech, conduct and in his relation with God (through prayer)." Before they were aware of it, the Hasidim formed a sect that avoided intercourse with Talmudic Jews. They, with Bär at their head, already felt strong enough to introduce innovations which would inevitably provoke the wrath of the rabbis against them. As prayer and the rites connected with divine worship were the most essential points to them, they ignored the prescription of the ritual code as to the time and the length of their prayers, but guided themselves solely by their own mood. Because of their daily ablutions, purifications and other preparations for prayer (in which the smoking of tobacco also played an important part), they rarely managed to pray at the prescribed hour, broke off abruptly, and omitted some portions. The uncouth Piyyutim, inserted in the Sabbath and festival prayers, proved particularly objectionable to them. Bär Meseritz introduced the prayer-book of the arch-cabalist Isaac Luria that omitted the payyetanic insertions.

The Hasidim would probably have been visited with severe punishment for this innovation had not the political power of Poland been broken at that time, and involved as a consequence the simultaneous breaking up of the firm political cohesion of Polish Jewry. Poland, disrupted by factional strife, weakened by the Jesuits, and regarded by the Russians as their certain prey, was ruled by the weakling Paniatowski.

Stanislaus August Poniatowski, the cast-off accomplice of the adulterous Empress Catherine, was the sport of internal factions and external enemies. In the first year of his reign (Sept., 1764) Poniatowski abolished the "Synod of the Four Lands," the representative and unifying body of Polish Jewry. The dissolution of the synod proved of extraordinary advantage to the Hasidim. They could not be excommunicated by the representatives of the entire Polish Jewry; it remained for each single community to take such measures as it could against them, and these did not prove very effective.

Gradually they gained ground also in old and large communities. Their number had increased to such an extent that they formed two branches, those of Meseritz and of Karlin. No sooner did ten members of this sect meet when they selected a room (Stübel) for their prayer meetings where they indulged in their peculiar practices, and endeavored to gain new adherents; but they did everything cautiously to avoid detection before they had gained a solid footing. When, however, through the zeal of a certain Isar they succeeded in gaining a foothold in Vilna, there arose a storm against them that crushed them to the ground, and it required all their tenacity and their ability to feign death to save them from utter destruction.

This violent attack upon them was inspired by Elijah Vilna (1720-1797), whose name is still uttered by the Lithuanian Jews with reverence and love, under the designation of "Gaon." Elijah was a rare exception among the Polish rabbis, a man of the purest character and high endowments which he did not waste upon inconsequentialities. As a matter of course, the Talmud with its kindred literature occupied his whole mind; but he detested the hair-splitting methods, the subtleties and artificialities indulged in by his countrymen. He desired only to master the simple meaning of the text, and even displayed a tendency to a critical examination of the contents. Elijah Vilna studied the Bible, too, again a rarity in his environment; and, a still greater rarity, familiarized himself with Hebrew grammar. He was deeply grieved at the moral havoc wrought by the cabala among the Jews of Podolia and Galicia through the impostor Frank, that forced them into the arms of the Church and that turned them into enemies of the synagog, and yet he could not bring himself to renounce it. When the conventicle of the Hasidim in Vilna, their doings and their mockery of the Talmudists were betrayed, the community became greatly agitated. The Hasidic conventicles were immediately dispersed, investigations and inquiries were instituted. Books were found among the Hasidim that taught that sadness must be avoided, even in connection with repentance over past offences, and contained changes in prayers and disrespectful utterances against the rabbis. Elijah Vilna took the matter very seriously. He saw in the Hasidic innovations a continuance of the Frankish excesses, and therefore urged severe punishment. Elijah recommended that the seducer, Isar, be placed in the pillory; but the authorities took a milder course. They excommunicated Isar on a Sabbath, in the presence of the entire community, imprisoned and scourged him, and publicly burned the discovered Hasidic writings (1772). Thereupon, the rabbinate and the communal board, in conjunction with Elijah Vilna, addressed an open letter to all large communities admonishing them to watch the Hasidim closely and to excommunicate them until they abandon their perversities. Several communities followed the example of Vilna. This was the first blow struck at the Hasidim. Moreover, it so happened that their leader, Bär Meseritz, died in the same year—

the rabbis imagined as a result of their anathemas—and the Hasidim were thus left leaderless. The kingdom of Poland was dismembered as a result of the weakness of the king, and the greed for land on the part of her neighbors. As a result of this dismemberment, the cohesion of the Hasidim was broken, and the severed members became subject to the legislation or the caprice of different governments.

This storm, however, did not crush them; they kept up their courage, and did not make the least attempt to submit to their opponents. The struggle inspired them with greater energy and activity. Excommunication did not trouble them much; this weapon which had become blunt since the controversy that raged about Jonanthan Eibeschütz, inflicted wounds no longer. The Hasidic sect, already numbering fifty or sixty thousand adherents, grouped themselves into small communities, under a leader styled "Rebbe." The mutual cohesion of the groups was maintained by the selection of a descendant of Bär Meseritz as Zaddik-in-chief, Abraham, Bär's son, is extolled by the Hasidim as the paragon of all sanctity, and is surnamed "the angel" (ha-Malach). To guard against possible desertion on the part of the simple-minded, who might be influenced by the charges hurled against them from Vilna, the heads of the Hasidim issued an ordinance that a Hasid must read or even glance at no book that had not been approved by them. In return, the leaders supplied the faithful with sermons or compilations of maxims attributed to Israel Baal-Shem or Bär Meseritz, that centred about the lofty significance of the Zaddik, the importance of Hasidic life, and contempt for the Talmudists, insipid writings which were, nevertheless, read with admiration by the adherents of

RABBI ELIJAH, THE "VILNA GAON"

(1720-1797)

the sect who were kept constantly in a state of intoxication.

After Bär's death two leaders contributed to the growth of Hasidism, the one by his boundless enthusiasm, and the other by his scholarship. These men were Israel of Kozienice (north of Radom; b. ab. 1745, d. 1815), and Zalman of Liadi (Liezna, 1747-1812), both belonging to the Meseritz circle. The former, known as the "Kozienicer Maggid," enjoyed the reputation of a thaumaturge in whom Christians, too, believed and to whom they turned in case of sickness. Rich gifts were lavished upon him, but he is said to have been so unselfish that he kept but little for himself, but distributed his wealth among the needy. Zalman of Liadi acquired influence by virtue of his Talmudic learning and his noble character. He founded a group of his own called Habad* (a sort of Rational Hasidism).

The Hasidim, however, were excommunicated once more, again at the instance of Elijah Vilna. In Brody and Cracow the compilations of Hasidic sermons and other works, though containing Scriptural verses, were publicly burned (1781); but those trite means proved ineffective. In the Austrian-Polish Province of Galicia, the Mendelssohnians employed different tactics against the Hasidic obscurantists. Believing that the Hasidic demoralization could be cured by cultural means, the enlightened few admirers of Mendelssohn displayed great zeal in an endeavor to bring about the enforcement of the edict of Joseph II that ordered the establishment of schools in which the German language and elementary subjects were to be taught; despite the violent resistance offered to this measure by nearly all the Jews, and by the Hasidim in particular. But all the means employed for the suppression of Hasidism proved futile, because, in one respect, at least, it pursued a justified end; to counteract the excesses of Talmudism. Before the eighteenth century had run its course, the sect had grown to a membership of one hundred thousand. At the present time they preponderate in the communities where they had formerly been persecuted and are spreading in every direction.

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* Habad are the initials of three Hebrew words that signify wisdom (Hochmah=H), understanding (Binah=B) and knowledge (Daat=D).

The Mendelssohn school—he had unintentionally founded a school—formed likewise a sort of an Order. This Order was composed of youths and young men in Germany, western and southern Europe, of Talmudic students who preached a new wisdom, or rather who wished to impregnate the ancient organism of Judaism with new sap, and to rejuvenate it. The synagog could have exclaimed: "Who hath begotten me all these, seeing I have lost my children and am desolate, exiled and put away; who hath brought up these?" (Is. 49: 21-22). A new spirit had taken possession of these youths; as though by mutual agreement, they shut all at once the heavy folios of the Talmud and turned to the Bible, the eternal source of rejuvenescence. Mendelssohn's translation of the Pentateuch had poured this new spirit upon them, had given them a new language, and inspired them with new songs. How did it come to seize upon them so mightily? They knew not. There they stood all of a sudden, prophesied a new future without knowing exactly what they were prophesying, and soared aloft before they were hardly fledged. From Königsberg to Alsace and from Italy to Amsterdam, London and Copenhagen, one heard a clear trill of the lark that announced the morn, and the singers hardly knew whence these fresh, warbling tones flowed.

RABBI ZALMAN OF LIADI

Together they formed a chorus, each attuned to the same high pitch, and therefore hardly distinguishable one from the other. And their significance consists only in this harmony: singly each voice sounds very thin and untrained, and it was only jointly that they produced a pleasant, piercing full tone. They, the youths, who had but recently familiarized themselves with the original language of the Bible, stepped forth at once as teachers and guides to reestablish in its purity the Hebrew language which had been deformed in so many respects, and which had been constantly used or rather abused. Their aim was to pave the way for an understanding of Holy Writ, to develop a taste for poetry, and to awaken an inclination to knowledge. And, just because, carried away by their enthusiasm, they overlooked the difficulties which a people, enslaved inwardly and outwardly, must overcome in order to rise to the height of poetry and philosophy, they succeeded in bringing about a rejuvenescence. On the whole, they accomplished more than their admired ideal Mendelssohn, because he was too discreet to take a step that might lead to a ridiculous result. These youths, however, dashed forward boldly; they had no reputation to lose, they did not represent a cause that might be compromised.

Two circumstances contributed to the spread of this movement. The effort of Frederick II to make his country rich had almost forced the Jews, and those of Berlin in particular, to acquire and accumulate capital. By establishing manufactories and by undertaking large enterprises on the one hand, and by thrift on the other, the first Jewish houses of great wealth came into existence in Berlin, that surpassed by far the wealth of the Christian burghers. But what were they to do with their wealth? They were not admitted to the circle of the nobility and the court; the bigoted burgher class, too, shut its doors in the faces of the Jewish upstarts upon whom they looked with envy. The wealthy Jews could therefore fall back only upon literary pursuits for which they had an innate inclination. All, or the majority at least, had received Talmudic instruction in their youth, and were therefore acquainted with the world of books. This circumstance lent to their aspiration an ideal character; they did not serve Mammon only. Reading in their leisure hours was a necessity for them. As soon as the German literature became current among them, in consequence of Mendelssohn's translation, they began to turn their attention to it, either out of an earnest desire to acquire knowledge or merely to follow the fashion.

The next impetus to this movement proceeded from Königsberg which, in a measure, was a colony of Berlin. In that city, and in East Prussia in general, as in all cities inhabited by Germans, the settlement of Jews was rendered difficult, was contested, and their life embittered. It was not before the middle of the eighteenth century that the small community was permitted to erect a synagog. However, several Jews of Königsberg managed, by industry and circumspection, to acquire wealth, and took an interest in the culture that began to dawn in Germany through the influence of French literature. The leaders of this movement were the three brothers, Friedländer (Bärmann, Meyer and Wolf). To this family belonged David Friedländer (1750-1834), the imitator of Mendelssohn, who had acquired influence in Berlin by virtue of his relationship with Daniel Itzig, the banker, and who was the medium of communication between Berlin and Königsberg. It proved quite an event for the Jews of Königsberg when Mendelssohn, in the course of a business trip, spent a few days in that city, was visited by eminent persons, academic professors and writers, and was treated with extraordinary courtesy. The great philosopher, Immanuel Kant, embraced him in public, and the eccentric Hamann, "the Magus of the North," extolled him to the skies in his extravagant manner. This insignificant incident inspired the cultivated Jews of Köenigsberg with a sort of conceit that a Jew, by self respect, could force the ruling classes to respect him. Moreover, the University of Königsberg at the instance of several humane professors, and of Kant in particular, admitted Jews who were thirsting after knowledge as students and academic citizens. Among these semi-academic, semi-Talmudic students there were then two who continued effectively Mendelssohn's quiet activity: Isaac Abraham Euchel and Mendel Bresselau, both tutors at the house of the wealthy and culture-loving Friedländer.

Isaac Abraham Euchel (1756-1804), taking Mendelssohn and Wessely as his model, developed into a genuine, correct Hebrew stylist, whose manner of writing presents a pleasant contrast to the corruption of language hitherto in vogue. Of greater significance was his younger associate, Mendel Bresselau (b. ab. 1760, d. 1827), who afterwards took an active part in the great struggle against Rabbinism. He was a veritable artist in the Hebrew language, and succeeded in applying biblical idioms to modern relations and conditions without affectation and ambiguity. Taking Moses Hayyim Luzzatto as his model, he wrote a morality play, "Youth," without, of course, reaching the poetic heights of the great Italian. While Mendelssohn was still living and while Wessely was engaged in his struggle with the ultra-Orthodox, Euchel and Bresselau, supported by two young men, Simon and Samuel, members of the wealthy Friedländer family, issued an appeal to all Jews to establish a society for the study of the Hebrew language (Hebrat Doreshe Leshon Eber), and to create an official organ, "The Gatherer" (Meassef). Their call met with a responsive echo. They had chosen the right means for advancement and education, and supplied a long-felt need as well. The Hebrew language alone purified and refined was capable of bringing about a reconciliation between Jewry and secular knowledge.

The greatest interest in the "Meassef" was displayed in Berlin, where the journal found both literary contributors and financial supporters. The Prussian capital already counted a number of young men who were animated by the same spirit that moved Euchel and Bresselau, who possessed a whimsical love for the Hebrew language and grew young again in its rejuvenescence. Even Mendelssohn contributed several Hebrew poems anonymously, not too proud, from the height of his fame, to vie with tyros. New names appeared in the newly-founded organ, which, under the collective name of Meassefim (contributors to the "Gatherer"), designated a definite tendency, a period of storm and stress in the Neo-Hebraic literature. Foremost among these were Joel Löwe (1762-1802) and Aaron Halle or Wolfsohn (1754-1835), the one a serious scholar, the other a bold critic, who were closely associated with Euchel and Bresselau and afterwards succeeded to the editorship. Among the Berlin contributors were David Friedländer, who tried his hand at everything, Joseph Haltern and Joseph Witzenhausen or Veit. Isaac Satanow (1732-1804) and Ben-Seeb (1764-1811), two Poles who sojourned in Berlin and were counted among the greatest Hebrew stylists, likewise belonged to this circle. Among the outside contributors to the "Gatherer" was Wolf Heidenheim (Heidenhim, 1737-Rödelheim, 1732), a singular man who abhorred the unmannerliness of the old and the frivolity of the new, and who employed his leisure in painstakingly accurate grammatic and Masoretic studies in the old masters. Through his critical editions of old publications, he diminished considerably, though he did not stop entirely, the negligence and carelessness that prevailed hitherto in the printing of Hebrew books.

The circle of the Meassefim was not confined to Germany, but extended also to Holland, France and Italy. David Friedrichsfeld (1755-1810), a native of Prussia who had settled in Holland, was a great enthusiast for the Hebrew language and biblical literature, and a purist and severe critic. From Amsterdam, he greeted the new movement for the fostering of the Hebrew language with youthful enthusiasm and celebrated the complete emancipation of the Dutch Jews in Hebrew verses. Under his influence the Jewish poets of Holland also joined the circle of the Meassefim. The most important of these was David Franco-Mendes (1713-1792) of Marano descent, who was the honorary secretary of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam. A pupil of Moses Hayyim Luzzatto, when that sweet singer sojourned at Amsterdam, he patterned himself after his master, and wrote a number of occasional poems and a biblical drama, "Gemul Athalia" (Athaliah's Punishment), modeled after Racine and Metastasio. Mendes, however, did not possess the poetic gift of his master; his drama is not finished even in form, his diction lacks purity, and is, in this respect, inferior even to Bresselau's allegoric drama, though his contemporaries, Saphardic and Italian poetasters, crowned him with the laurel of poetry. Mendes supported the Meassef with great zeal and contributed to its pages brief biographies of Sephardic celebrities who were unknown to German poets. Other Portuguese-Jewish poets also joined the Meassefim.

France was represented in the literature of the Meassefim by Moses Ensheim or Moses Metz (about 1760-1838?), who had been a tutor in Mendelssohn's house for several years, and for whom his pupils cherished the highest admiration. He was an amiable, gentle and kindly man, and so modest that he would not publish any of his writings. Ensheim was a great mathematician and wrote a book on integral and differential calculus which was highly praised by such mathematical authorities as Lagrange and Laplace. This book, too, he declined to publish. But he celebrated the victory of freedom over slavery in France in triumphant Hebrew songs, some of which were sung in the synagogs. Through the sojourn at Göritz of Herz Homberg (1740-1841), an old tutor in Mendelssohn's house whose ability the philosopher greatly overestimated, and who afterwards was appointed supervisor of the Jewish schools of Galicia and Lodemeria, and through Elijah Morpurgo, who conducted a correspondence with Mendelssohn and Wessely, the reform tendency of the Meassefim was introduced in Italy also.

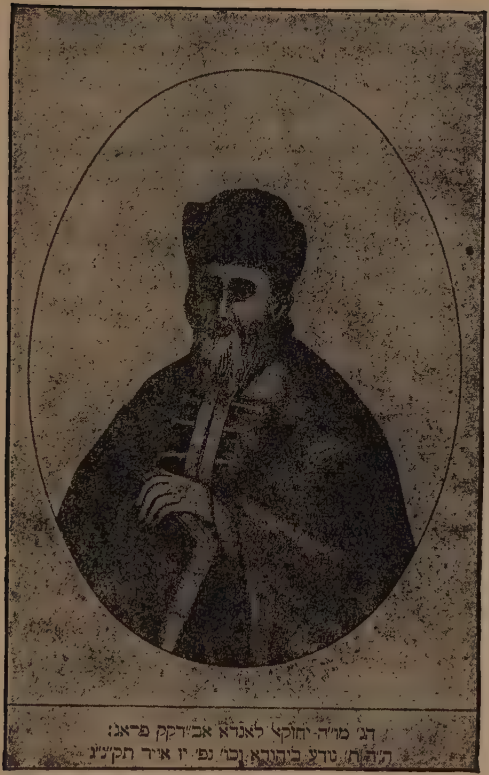
The Hebrew language and the Neo-Hebraic poetry thus formed a new bond of union for the Jewry of Western Europe, encompassed, in part, also the Jews of Poland, and produced a surprisingly quick and enduring invigoration and rejuvenescence. The Hebrew language was familiar to nearly all Jews, excepting a few ignorant villagers, and was therefore peculiarly adapted as a medium for European culture. The thousands of youths who were engaged in the study of the Talmud in various academies, gradually, for the most part secretly, took a keen interest in this movement and absorbed these innovations with great eagerness.

At first, the old and the new intermingled. Eminent rabbis like Ezekiel Landau, Raphael Cohen and others had condemned this means of instruction, this extra-Talmudic knowledge; Mendelssohn and Wessely, irreproachably religious men, had not only permitted it, but urgently recommended it as advancing the cause of Judaism. Of the ancient, venerated authorities, some permitted it and pursued it themselves, while others interdicted it and avoided it as a seductive sin. This momentous question of conscience confronted the thinking Jewish youths and rendered them very restless. The charm of novelty decided this question for the most part. They were allured by the graceful language of the representatives of the new tendency, and now and then, also by the desire to rid themselves of irksome ritual shackles. The number of the supporters of the "Meassefim" increased from year to year. Mendelssohn's death supplied them with a banner. His disciples glorified him in the most extravagant terms, transfigured him and his exceptional career in prose and verse, pointed to him as an ideal worthy of imitation, and, in a measure, exploited his fame for their purposes. This circle took a step farther, and directed its energies to refinement in general. It styled itself (from 1787) the "Society for the Good and the Noble," without itself knowing definitely what the ultimate aim of the organization was. The adherents of the old could not stem the overwhelming tide of innovation.

Thus there sprang up in nearly every large community a party of the "Enlightened" or "Left," who had not yet broken with the old, but were on the point of doing so, and who were decried by the ultra-orthodox as heretics because of their predilection for pure speech, for the Hebrew and European literatures, and for decent forms in general. The appearance of the "Meassef" excited attention in Christian circles also. It was hailed as the dawn of a new day and such it really proved to be. Three Jewish thinkers, profound philosophers of the second if not of the first magnitude, who belonged to Mendelssohn's circle, became disseminators of culture. These three men, Marcus Herz, Solomon Maimon and Ben-David, though schooled in Mendelssohn's system, realized its weaknesses and followed newly-opened paths. Struck by the overwhelming and redeeming suggestiveness of Kant's philosophy, and grasping it more deeply than the professional philosophers, they became Kant's shield-bearers, and popularized the ideas which he had couched in complicated language. Marcus Herz (1747-1803) was treated by Kant with distinction because of his ingenuity. When he settled in Berlin as an able physician, his lectures on philosophy and experimental physics were attended by prominent men and even by princes. By virtue of his personality and cogent wit, his house, to which his beautiful and charming wife, Henriette, lent an additional attractiveness, became the rendezvous of the aristocratic society of Berlin, and exercised a far-reaching influence upon the cultural development of Jewish and Christian circles.

Solomon Maimon (b. ab. 1753, d. 1800) presented a still more striking example of the ability of the Jew to acquire culture with astonishing rapidity. This Pole, whose real name was Solomon of Lithuania, or of Neswizh, of his own accord, without special assistance, rose from the densest mist of Jewish-Polish ignorance to the clear pinnacle of philosophic knowledge, but fell into shocking aberrations because of his skepticism. His biography is a history of wandering and instability.

It was Maimonides' "Guide for the Perplexed"


הג׳ מו״ה יחזקא׳ לאנדא אב״דקק פראג:
ה״ות׳ טדע ביהודא וכו׳ נפ׳ יז איר תקנ״ג

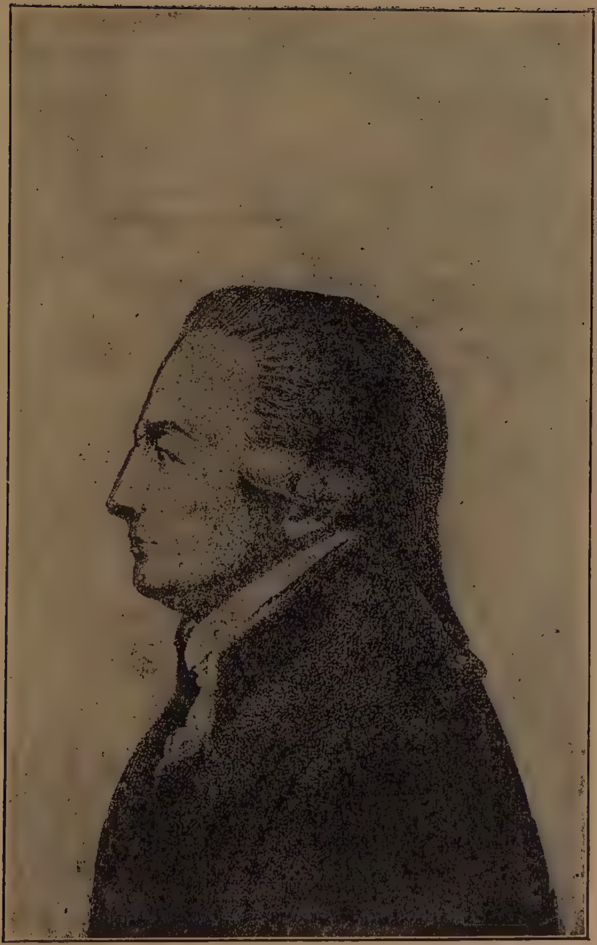
Rabbi Ezekiel Landau

that opened his eyes, as it did Mendelssohn's. He had mastered the book so thoroughly that it became a part of him; he called himself Maimon in consequence, and invoked the name of the Jewish sage when any temptation assailed him. Kant, to whom he had been recommended by Marcus Herz, was almost dazzled by Maimon's keenness and profundity, and showered the highest praise upon the Jewish thinker who was inclined to oppose him. Maimon became a prolific writer on philosophic subjects, and had mastered the German language to such an extent that he succeeded in presenting the difficult, obscure and dry philosophical problems in a generally intelligible manner. To the general public, however, he became known only through his "Autobiography," in which he laid bare the shortcomings of the Polish Jews, including his own, with a cynic recklessness, as Rousseau had done in his "Confessions" several years before.

This sort of frank book-making was something unusual in the rigid, pedantic Germany of that day, and excited general attention. The two great German poets, Schiller and Goethe, were positively infatuated with the Jewish cynic philosopher. The latter cherished the desire of having the philosopher in his proximity. Fame made Maimon neither better nor happier. He continued his regular life, retained his Polish manners, and had to subsist upon the generosity of his friends to the end of his days.

The third Jewish philosopher of this period, Lazarus Ben-David (1762-1832), experienced neither the tragic nor the comic career of Maimon. Ordinarily cold and prosaic, he cherished an ardent admiration for Kant's philosophy. It was possibly foolish on his part to go to Vienna to deliver lectures on philosophy (1793-98), since at that time Austria was not ripe for the metaphysical subtleties and the ethical purity involved in Kant's system. At first, it is true, the University was placed at his disposal, but one can well imagine an academic chair for a Jew and for a philosopher that denied Catholicism its right of existence! He was soon compelled to discontinue his lectures. Count Harrach, thereupon, placed his palace at Ben-David's disposal; but as he met with obstacles in this quarter, too, he returned to Berlin where he continued his lectures, and edited a journal. Ben-David exerted but little influence upon the course of modern Jewish history.

German Jews, under Mendelssohn's influence, have not only rapidly risen to the height of culture, but have also unmistakably helped in spreading a general consciousness of education in Christian circles. Gifted Jews and Jewesses were the first to give to Berlin that tone of culture which has become the distinctive characteristic of that capital, and whence it influenced the rest of Germany. Jews and Jewesses were the first to establish a salon in Berlin. Through Frederick the Great the witty French literature was introduced into Prussia, and the overflowing French wit attracted the Jews in particular. The wit of the Talmud found a kindred spirit, as it were, in French wit. Voltaire found more admirers in the tents of Jacob than in the houses of the Germans. The Jewish youth seized upon French literature greedily, absorbing at the same time, of course, the French levity also. The clever daughters of Israel also devoted themselves with great zeal to this fashionable folly. They studied French; it was another ornament with which they adorned themselves. Through the influence of Mendelssohn and Lessing this trifling gave way to an earnest effort to acquire a sound education in order to be placed on an equal footing with men. Mendelssohn's daughters, in constant touch with educated men, took the lead in this



Solomon Maimon
(1754-1800)

movement, and induced others to imitate their example. No city of Germany contained so many educated girls and young women as Berlin did.

At first it was Mendelssohn's house that became the centre of scientific entertainment. After Mendelssohn's death David Friedländer and Marcus Herz took his place. But Friedländer was too awkward and matter-of-fact to be attractive. It was therefore the house of Marcus Herz that became the rendezvous for Mendelssohn's friends and embraced even a wider circle; for the wife of Marcus Herz proved even more captivating than her husband's knowledge and endowments. It was she who formed a veritable magic circle, as it were, that attracted to it every person of distinction, native and foreign, who was in Berlin. Henriette Herz (1764-1847) was a spoiled child of fortune. The daughter of Benjamin de Lemos, a popular Portuguese Jewish physician who had married a German woman, Henriette combined the characteristics of Southern ardor and Spanish dignity with German tenderness and flexibility. Her form and her features excited attention whenever she showed herself, and she was called "the tragic Muse." Artists admired this perfection of beauty, the like of which the master-hand of nature produces but rarely.

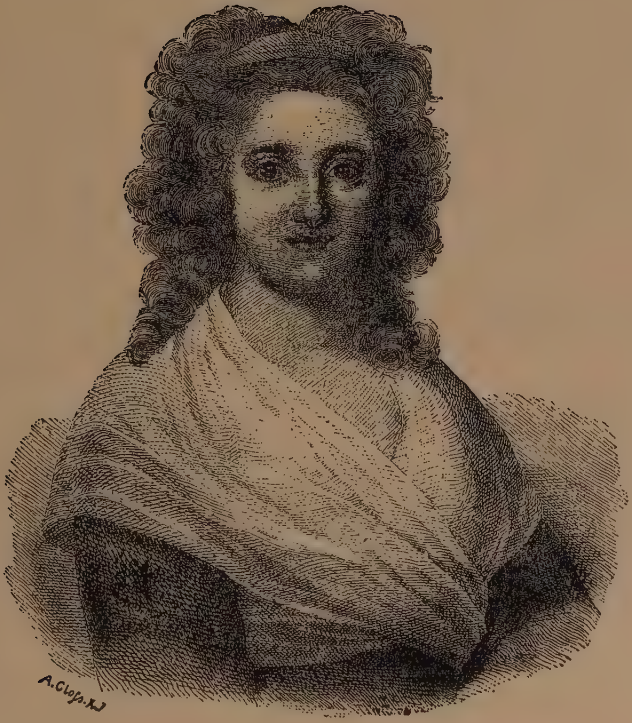
As stated above, this beautiful woman made her home the rendezvous for the elite of Berlin. This house was frequented at first by Mendelssohn's Christian friends, such as Nikolai, Engel, the tutor of the crown-prince (Frederick William III), who introduced to the public specimens of rabbinic wisdom which he had learned from Jews, and Ramler, the spiritual father of the poets. This circle was soon enlarged by other men of eminence, such as Teller and Zöllner, councillors of the consistory, Knuth, the tutor of the brothers Alexander and

William von Humboldt, who later became European celebrities, introduced his wards to this circle. Gentz, Schleiermacher and Frederick von Schlegel were, in a measure, members of the Herz household. Mirabeau, in whose head the storm-charged clouds of the Revolution were beginning to gather, and to whom the Jews, too, are greatly indebted, frequented the house of Henriette Herz while he was in Berlin on a secret diplomatic mission (1786). Little by little ladies of quality and of education, attracted by the charm of refined sociable intercourse, also sought the acquaintance of Henriette Herz and her women friends. This salon proved particularly attractive to cultivated Christian youths, because of the pretty Jewish girls and women who moved about their beautiful hostess like satellites. These Jewish beauties, however, did not serve merely as a decoration for this salon, but took an active part in the interchange of thought that accompanied these social gatherings, and distinguished themselves by their originality. Gentz called them the "wise women of Jewry."

This social intercourse of Jews with educated Christians inspired the former with the hope that they might obtain in Prussia, if not complete emancipation, at least some relief from the oppressive extortions and humiliations. For there was a deep gulf between the social position of cultured Jews and their legal treatment. The authorities regarded them still as common "Schutzjuden." The accession of Frederick William II, who was a man of liberal views, filled the Jews with great hope. At the instance of David Friedländer who, as Mendelssohn's successor, was also regarded as the representative of Jewish interests, the heads of the Berlin community petitioned the government to abolish the Jewish poll-tax (Leibzoll), to repeal the barbaric anti-Jewish laws, and to grant the Jews freedom of movement. They received a favorable reply to the effect that "they choose upright men from their midst," with whom the government would enter into negotiations on the subject. The government approved also their proposal to convene representatives of all Jewish communities from the provinces, excluding Silesia, West Prussia and East Friesland, and a commission was appointed to investigate the grievances of the Prussian Jews, and to make suggestions for the amelioration of their condition.

The deputies detailed the extortions to which they were subjected under the most ridiculous titles; for example, the compulsion to purchase from the royal factory china-ware (ironically called Jewish china-ware) of the worst quality at the highest price and to sell it to foreign countries, and to maintain a cap, stocking, bolting-cloth and blond-lace factory. They boldly demanded equal rights, admission not only to agriculture and to all handicrafts, but also to public offices, and to chairs in universities (May, 1787). But the Jews of Berlin and of Prussia were disappointed in their hopes. The Leibzoll was, indeed, abolished, and the compulsion to buy china-ware was removed upon the payment of forty-two thousand marks. The other proposed reforms, on the other hand, were deliberated upon for a long time; but the crafty Wöllner and Bischofswerder had meanwhile gained the ascendency over the weak king, and brought about a reaction against enlightenment. The final answer to the appeal of the Jewish deputies was therefore extremely disappointing. It redounds to the credit of the deputies that they openly rejected the scanty, illiberal concessions, saying "The favors granted to us fall short of our expectations and correspond but little to the high hopes we entertained upon the accession of the king." They declared they had no authority to accept the proffered reforms that contained "few advantages and many restrictions," particularly with reference to the admission of Jews to the army. Individual Jews, like the wealthy family Itzig and the banker Cohen in Berlin, and Bendix Goldschmid, of Potsdam, were granted equal rights by way of exception. Otherwise conditions remained as of old, though public opinion, at least in Berlin, was more favorable to the Jews.

In the Berlin community there were thus sown the seeds for the ennobling of the Jewish race, and these were disseminated over a wide area by means of two agencies—a free school and the printing house connected with it. The free school, directed by David Friedländer and his wealthy brother-in-law, Daniel Itzig, did not exactly follow Wessely's ideal and curriculum. Subjects of secular knowledge occupied the most prominent place and gradually crowded out from the curriculum the so-called Jewish subjects (Hebrew, Bible, Talmud). In the course of ten years (1781-1791) upward of five hundred pupils received instruction in this school, and they diffused the Jewish-Berlin spirit far and wide. This free school became the model for communities within and without Germany. The printing establishment connected with this school, which scattered in the ghettos a large number of instructive works in Hebrew and German, produced a similar effect. The spirit thus fostered was at first a spirit of negation, of superficial enlightenment. It aimed at removing from Jewish life and from Jewish custom everything that may prove offensive to refined taste, what does not recommend itself to common-sense at first blush, everything that savors of the national, that is reminiscent of the great deeds of the past, everything that stamps the Jew as peculiar in the eyes of the Christians. The highest ambition of the representatives of this spirit was



Henriette Herz

to be exactly like and indistinguishable from the Christian. Their watchword was "enlightenment." The members of this circle still believed that they were following in Mendelssohn's footsteps, whereas they had gone beyond him and his fundamental principles long ago.

The Berlin school of enlightenment, with every step forward it took, set itself in opposition to the totality of Jewry that still persisted in the traditional way, offended the sensibilities of the latter, and thereby defeated its own purpose. Misunderstandings, irritations, friction and conflicts were the immediate consequences. The sincerely pious Wessely was highly agitated at this state of affairs, rebuked the spokesman of this movement in an essay (published in the Meassef, 1788), and severed his connections with the representatives of the tendency of enlightenment led by the shallow-brained David Friedländer.

Ultra-orthodoxy had by far fewer men of importance than the movement of enlightenment. Ezekiel Landau, of Prague (1713-93), its most distinguished leader, did not have the slightest comprehension of the new era, clung thoughtlessly to every custom, be it ever so unwarranted, and thereby injured the cause which he represented. The Austrian government desired to interdict the custom in vogue among the Jews of burying their dead a few hours after the respiratory organs had come to a stop. Opposition developed in connection with this question. Landau, blinded by his zeal for conservatism, defended this custom with feeble, sophistic arguments. The chief rabbi of Prague thus played into the hands of the enlightened, since the government sided with the latter. David Friedländer and Euchel had translated the synagogal prayers from the Hebrew into the German for the benefit of the women. This slight deviation from the traditional, which was not even an innovation, gave offence to the ultra-orthodox. A preacher of Prague (Eliezer Fleckeles) fulminated against it, and was praised by Ezekiel Landau for his zeal.

The frictions between the enlightened and the ultra-orthodox, both sides exceeding all bounds, led to an intense agitation in the Berlin community. The youth of Berlin, private teachers, commercial clerks, sons of the rich, fops, paraded a frivolous philosophy and took pride in scoffing at their aged mothers, and in calumniating everything Jewish that stood in their way as superstition, prejudice and rabbinic folly. This rendered the adherents of the old all the more tenacious, and they clung to everything that bore a religious tinge. As the orthodox communal authorities or administrators of benevolent institutions still held the reins of power in their hands, they withheld all assistance from foreign adherents of enlightenment who lived in Berlin, refused to admit the sick into the Jewish hospital, and denied the dead an honorable burial. Men without families, among them Euchel and Wolfsohn, two leaders of the Meassefim, were compelled in consequence to organize themselves into a fraternity to defend themselves against the orthodox. Mendelssohn's eldest son, Joseph, undertook the organization of such a society, and, as Mendelssohn was a name to conjure with, he found numerous supporters. There thus came into existence the "Society of Friends" (1792), an enlightened community within the community, composed solely of unmarried young men whose main object was to regard one another as brothers, and to extend mutual assistance in case of need and sickness. Incidentally the society was to disseminate education and to advance the cause of "enlightenment." But the members of this Society did not possess the proper stability; they lacked the enthusiasm indispensable to the success of a new movement. There was still less stability to the commonplace fellows, the so-called enlightened merchants who were slaves to luxury, and who sought their happiness in gaining access to Christians. The old had lost its charm for them, and the new had as yet no tangible shape to attract them.

Having broken the ancient bonds which had united them with a religion that was founded upon a national basis, the superficial sophists and libertines turned to Christianity in great numbers. "Like moths, they fluttered about the flame until it consumed them." Why be bound by the shackles of "restrictive laws"; why bear the disgrace of special protection by the authorities, when, by means of an empty formula, they could be placed on an equal footing with the Christians? Accordingly they washed away the disgrace and the stain, stamped upon them by the yoke, with baptismal water. The communities of Berlin, Breslau and Königsberg, in particular, witnessed daily the apostasy of their wealthiest and seemingly educated members.

The Church thus gained an easy victory; it had not witnessed such a wholesale baptism of Jews, without fire and sword, since the Frankists of Southern Poland had embraced Catholicism several decades before. Within three decades, half of the Berlin community had embraced Christianity. * It is surprising that all the enlightened Jew-

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* In Note 7 to Vol. XI of Graetz's Geschichte der Juden (edition of 1900, pp. 579-80), Dr. S. Newmann maintains that Graetz's assertion of wholesale conversions at this time of the Jews of Berlin and of Königsberg is absolutely without foundation in fact. The statement that " half of the Berlin community had embraced Christianity within three decades" is based upon a passage in Rahel's letter to her brother Robert (August 29, 1819), which is a mere exclamation of despair, and has absolutely no statistical value. The reference to the Jews of Königsberg is based upon a misreading of a statement in Jolowicz's "Geschichte der Juden in Königsberg," which, in fact, does not refer to conversions at all. To err is human.

ish sophists of Germany did not turn their back upon Judaism at that time. Three invisible powers guarded them against following the example of treason and apostasy; their deep aversion to the essence of Christianity; their ineradicable loyalty to their family and to the thousand-year-old glorious past, and finally their love of the Hebrew language and literature. Whoever was capable of comprehending the beauties and sublimity of the Bible in its original tongue, and of imitating its language, remained a Jew despite the doubts that assailed his heart, despite the slights and shame to which he was subjected. Mendelssohn, through his translation of the Bible, thus handed the new generation poison and its antidote at the same time.

David Friedländer proved the only exception to the rule. Neither Jewish antiquity nor Hebrew poetry, nor the sense of family loyalty could induce him to remain true to the flag. He was a man of good domestic habits, an honest merchant and a public benefactor, but he was of a pedantic, narrow nature. He could only appropriate other people's thoughts, and babble catch-words. He had broken with practical Judaism, and he patched together a few thoughts which he had borrowed from Mendelssohn, paraded them on every occasion, and regarded this patchwork as an enlightened religion. And yet the State refused to recognize him and his associates as citizens with full rights and privileges! He sought to obtain naturalization for himself and the entire Friedländer family as a special favor, and failed in his attempt. This grieved him. Instead of finding consolation in the pride of ancestry and in the glory of martyrdom, Friedländer, together with several like-minded heads of families (probably members of the Itzig family), addressed a joint letter to Teller, chief councillor of the consistory, who used to associate with Jews, in which they declared their inclination to change their religion, even to submit to baptism, but only on condition that they be released from the necessity of subscribing to the belief in Jesus, or of participating in the rites of the Church, or that they be permitted, at least, to interpret the Christian dogmas in their own way, since they could not share in the creed of the Church, and would not play the hypocrites—a proposition which was as foolish as it was dishonest.

Teller disposed of the Jewish heads of families who clamored for a Christianity without Jesus as they deserved, politely but firmly. Let them remain where they were; Christianity does not crave such unbelieving believers. Friedländer had the mortifying experience of remaining a Jew by necessity. His letter, however, excited more attention than it deserved, and called forth several pamphlets from Christian quarters. Deeper minds, like Schleiermacher, much as they overrated Christianity, saw in this step treason to Judaism as well as an inconsistency. Without suspecting who the author of the letter was, Schleiermacher exclaimed: "How deeply hurt the excellent Friedländer in particular must feel! I wonder if he, a more genuine adherent of Mendelssohn than the author of this letter, would not raise his voice against this betrayal of a better cause!" Even faithful Christians were grieved at the thought that the glorious history of the most ancient people should degenerate into a pseudo-Christianity. Others exclaimed: "Open wide the gates that all Israel might enter the Church." Others still regarded it as a sign of the times, as an act of fraternization between Jews and free-thinkers without regard to religion and priests. The Jews were silent at Friedländer's folly, and that was the wisest course.

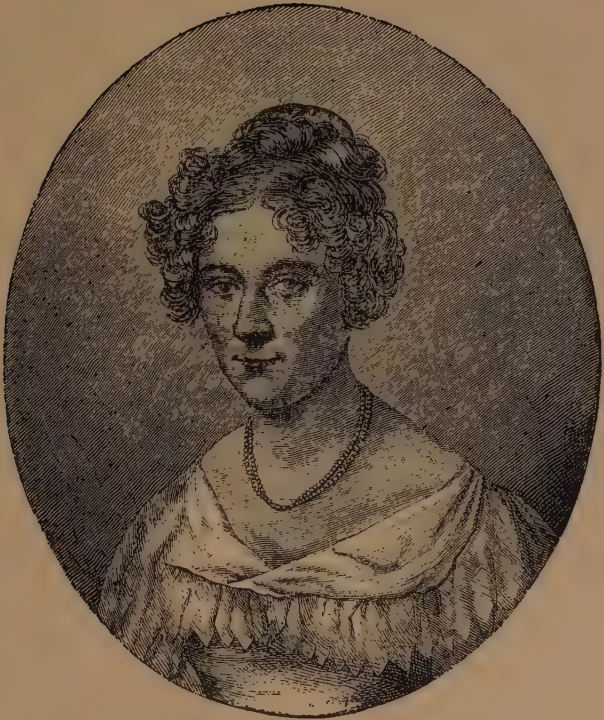
The educated Jewesses showed still less firmness and pride of ancestry than the educated Jews. The salon of the beautiful Henriette Herz became a sort of Midianitish tent where, for the most part, young Jewish women whose husbands were engaged in their daily occupations sought the society of Christian young men. The leader of this circle was Frederick von Gentz, the very embodiment of selfishness, sensuality, viciousness and unscrupulousness, whose sole object was the seduction of women. Henriette Herz lost her head as a result of the homage paid her beauty, and was led astray. She entered into a flirtation that degenerated into equivocal conduct; her judgment and that of her women friends of right and wrong became confused. The Christian libertines established a so-called League of Virtue with the women and girls, an Order that aimed at the mingling of the sexes without restraint and without the social proprieties. That period witnessed the beginning of the German romanticism that emanated from Goethe's poetry, whose aim was to reduce the lyric feeling of poetry to reality, to transfigure life poetically. Ultimately this romantic tendency was tantamount to fostering sentimentality and to seeking notorious marriage affinities. The Jewesses felt honored to enter into such intimate relations with Christians of rank. The foolish women did not see the hissing serpent amidst the flowers.

Henriette Herz first entered into an amorous affair with William von Humboldt and later with Schleiermacher, that apostle of the new Christianity who wove, out of cobwebs, ropes for the fettering of the spirit. Schleiermacher's associate was Frederick Schlegel, that heaven-stormer with the fists of a child, who aimed at seducing Dorothea Mendelssohn who was already married. The perversity of the "League of Virtue" had already implanted in her the delusion that she must feel unhappy in her married life. Henriette acted as the go-between. Dorothea thereupon separated from her husband, and at first lived with Schlegel as his concubine. At this time Schlegel's lewd novel, "Lucinde," made its appearance, in which its author goes into raptures over adulterous obscenity. Schlierermacher stood sponsor for this novel.

The third highly educated woman of this circle was Rachel Levin. She was too prudent to participate in the follies of the "League of Virtue." She wished to go her own way. But neither her prudence nor the keenness of her mind protected her from the immorality which the fashionable Christian world breathed forth at that time. The seducer of this "little woman with the great soul," as she was called, was Goethe. His poetry and his pagan philosophy which taught indulgence in sensuality, partly covered with wreaths of flowers, Rachel regarded as a Bible, which she learned by heart and reduced to practice.

These gifted, erring Jewish women did Judaism the favor of embracing Christianity. Mendelssohn's daughters and Rachel did so loudly and publicly. On the other hand, Henriette Herz, who paid more attention to appearances, was baptized in a small town to avoid mortifying her Jewish friends, and only after her mother's death. The double reaction, the ecclesiastical for which Schleiermacher and in part also Schlegel was responsible, and the political which is associated with Gentz, had its birth in the Jewish-Christian salon of Berlin. But in the very year in which the effeminate Schleiermacher calumniated Judaism as a mummy, Bonaparte, a hero, a giant in comparison with this nagging dwarf, issued a call to the Jews to gather about him. He wished to conquer the Holy Land of their fathers for them, and, another Cyrus, rebuild the Temple for them. The freedom which the

Jews of Berlin wished to acquire by renouncing their peculiarities, and with self-humiliation before the Church, was granted to them by France without that price and without ignominious bargainings.



Rahel Levin

CHAPTER III

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND EMANCIPATION

(1789-1806)

The French Revolution was a judgment sent to expiate the sins of a thousand years in one day. A new Day of the Lord set in "to humble all the proud and lofty ones, and to exalt the lowly." The lowliest and most despised in the social life of Europe, the Jews, were also to behold at last the day of redemption and freedom after their long enslavement among the nations of Europe. Strange it is that England and France, the two European countries that were the first to expel the Jews, were also the first to grant them human rights. What Mendelssohn regarded as possible only in the distant future, what Dohm and Diez, the advocates of the Jewish cause, advanced as a pious wish, was realized in France with magic rapidity.

However, the freedom granted the French Jews did not altogether fall like ripe fruit in their lap. Great exertions on their part were necessary in order to remove the oppressive yoke from their shoulders. The most zealous laborer for the emancipation of the Jews of France was Herz Medelsheim, or Cerf Berr (b. ab. 1730, d. 1793). He was the first to endeavor to dispel, by word and deed, the anti-Jewish prejudices from which he himself had suffered grievously. He had inherited considerable wealth and supplied military stores for the French army. For this purpose he had to tarry in Strassburg, where Jews were not allowed to live, and permission to remain there was granted to him for a single winter at first. However, as he had rendered the state conspicuous services in the reign of Louis XV, in the course of the war and famine, this permission was extended again and again, and he took advantage of this favor to make himself at home in that city. Cerf Berr brought several other Jews to Strassburg. He secretly bought homes for himself and the members of his family, and received from Louis XVI, because of his services to the state, the right to possess landed property and estates. He established factories in Strassburg, and intended to give employment to Jews in order to wean them away from their petty trading and thus deprive their enemies of the pretext for their prejudices. The Germans of Strassburg looked askance at the settlement of Jews within their walls, and made every conceivable effort to expel Cerf Berr and his protégés. This shopkeeper-like narrow-mindedness, on the one hand, and Dohm's intercession for the Jews on the other, as well as the partial freedom conferred upon them by Emperor Joseph, encouraged Cerf Berr to propose seriously the emancipation of the Jews, or, at least, their admission to most French cities, and to bring it to a successful issue at court. With that object in view, he distributed copies of Dohm's book which had been translated into French by Bernoulli of Dessau. Cerf Berr's proposals met with a favorable reception in court circles. The French government received petitions from other quarters, too, to ameliorate the conditions of the Jews, particularly of those of Alsace and Lorraine. Upon the king's order the noble Malesherbes, who was an enthusiast for the happiness of mankind, convened a commission of Jews who were to make suggestions for the improvement of the condition of the Jews who lived in France. This commission included Cerf Berr and Berr Isaac Berr of Nancy, who represented the Jews of Lorraine, and Portuguese Jews from Bordeaux and Bayonne, among them Furtado, who later on played a part in the history of the Revolution. It was probably at their request that Louis XVI abolished the poll-tax (Jan., 1784), which proved so degrading to the Jews of the German-speaking provinces of France.

But two men—Mirabeau and the priest Grégoire—who were selected by Mendelssohn and his friends as their heralds, as it were, proved of greater service to the cause of Jewish emancipation than Cerf Berr and the Jewish Commission. Count Mirabeau (1749-1791), ever the friend of the oppressed, was first stimulated in Mendelssohn's circle to raise his mighty voice in behalf of the Jews. Sent by the French court on a secret diplomatic mission to Berlin, he arrived in that city shortly after Mendelssohn's death, and heard the expressions of sorrow at the death of the Jewish sage and the unstinted praise which Christian circles lavished upon him. Mirabeau came also in frequent contact with Dohm, the first advocate of the Jewish cause. Deeply impressed by Mendelssohn's great personality, and carried away to enthusiasm by the thought of bringing redemption to an enslaved people, Mirabeau determined in the first instance to acquaint the French public with both. This gave rise to Mirabeau's influential work, "Mendelssohn and the Political Reform of the Jews" (1787). He reviewed the thousand-year-old tragic history of the Jews, and beheld in it the glorious martyrdom of the Jews and the shame of their oppressors. "Do you desire that the Jews become better men, more useful citizens? Banish from society all degrading distinctions; open to them all the avenues of profit. Take care that the Jews, without neglecting the sacred law of their fathers, are placed in a better position to become acquainted with nature and its Creator, the principles of order, the interests of the human race, of the vast society of which they are a part." Imbued with Mendelssohn's spirit, Mirabeau refutes successively the accusations against the Jews. He concluded his ardent defense of the Jews with the words: "Think ye that the alleged, deeply rooted wickedness of the Jews will disappear only with the third or fourth generation? In that case, begin right now. For there is no advantage in delaying the great reform for a generation, if without this reform the generation cannot be improved, and the time lost is the only thing you cannot retrieve." Mirabeau seized also every other opportunity to advocate the cause of the Jews. He cherished a veritable affection for the Jews and their biblical literature, and dispelled the clouds of prejudice which Voltaire had called into existence. A cause which Mirabeau undertook to defend could be regarded as half won. His reform proposals came at the right time.

Among the thousand questions which occupied the public mind on the eve of the Revolution was also the Jewish question. The Jews of Alsace complained of their intolerable wretchedness, and the Christian population of their intolerable impoverishment at the hands of the Jews. In Metz there appeared a provocative booklet, "The Cry of the Citizens Against the Jews," which inflamed the most vicious passions of the people against them. Isaiah Berr Bing (1759-1805), who was both learned and eloquent, and more familiar with the history of his people than most of his Jewish contemporaries (including the leader of the Berlin movement), refuted every charge with cogent convincingness.

In consequence of the books that appeared for and against the Jews, the Jewish question came to the forefront in France. The Royal Society for Science and Art offered a prize for the best essay that would answer the question, "Are there any means by which the Jews could be made happier and more useful in France?" Nine essays were received; seven in favor of the Jews, two of which were written by Catholic priests—Abbé Grégoire and Abbé de la Louze. The gist of their arguments was that the Jews were human beings, like Christians, and worthy of becoming French citizens, and that the faults imputed to them were the result of Christian injustice. The prize was awarded (1788) to Abbé Grégoire, Adolph Thiery, a lawyer of Nancy, and Salkind Hurwitz, a native of Kovno (Russia), who had settled in Paris.

When these essays appeared the heavens were already overcast with the storm-charged clouds of the Revolution that was to loosen the forces of destruction and reconstruction upon the earth. As though touched by a magic wand, France became transformed into a hearth of fire wherein all the implements of slavery were consumed and from the ashes of which the French people rose rejuvenated, the first apostle of the religion of freedom. Should not the hour of redemption strike also for the most enslaved people of all, for the Jews? Two of their most zealous champions sat in the national assembly—Mirabeau, one of the fathers of the Revolution, and Abbé Grégoire, who owed his election to his very essay in defense of the Jews.

The number of Jews in France at the outbreak of the Revolution exceeded by no means fifty thousand—in Alsace, Metz, Paris, Bordeaux and in the papal domains of Avignon and Carpentras. There was as little coherence among the Jews of the various provinces as among those of the other European countries. Their accumulated misfortunes had riven them apart. In addition, there existed strained relations between the German and the Portuguese Jews. Hence it came about that no united effort was made by them to demand their immediate emancipation at the hands of the National Assembly, though Grégoire, the Catholic priest, had admonished them to seize this favorable opportunity.

The storming of the Bastille had snatched the sceptre from the hand of the king and delivered it to the people. The Revolution had tasted blood, and began to execute judgment upon the oppressors. In many parts of the country, as though by prearrangement, castles were burned, cloisters destroyed, the nobility maltreated or put to death. In Alsace the populace made a violent attack upon the Jews on this occasion (early in August, 1789), destroyed their homes, pillaged their property, and forced them to flee half naked. They escaped to Basel, for the most part, and though Jews were not permitted to tarry there, the fugitives were given shelter and treated kindly. Wessely immortalized the humanity of the people of Basel in a fine Hebrew poem. Complaints of these excesses of the first intoxication of liberty, the sad consequences of the selfishness of the nobles, reached the General Assembly that was expected to redress all wrongs. The ill-treated Alsatian Jews turned to Grégoire, who drew a gloomy picture (Aug. 3) of the attack made upon the Jews, and added that he, a servant of religion that regarded all men as brothers, must demand the intercession of the Assembly in behalf of this despised and unfortunate people. In addition, he published a "Proposal in Behalf of the

Jews" to influence public opinion. There followed thereupon that memorable night of the Fourth of August when the nobles themselves sacrificed their privileges on the altar of freedom and acknowledged the equality of all citizens. It was only as a result of this instance, and out of fear lest all of them become victims of anarchy, that the Jews decided to seek admission into the fraternity of the French people; but they proceeded again without general coöperation, and, in part, presented conflicting requests. The Jews of Bordeaux had already joined the National Guard, and one of their number had been appointed captain. About two hundred Parisian Jews had also joined the National Guard, and vied with the other citizens in patriotism and revolutionary courage. They sent eleven deputies to the National Assembly, headed by Goldschmidt, a Hollander, and by Abraham Lopes Laguna, a Portuguese, who petitioned that the ignominy attaching to them as Jews be removed and that they be granted equal rights by an explicit law.

But religious intolerance manifested itself even within the Assembly. When one deputy, de Castellane, emphasized the point that "no man should be disturbed on account of his religious opinion nor interfered with in the exercise of his religion," there arose a storm of protest from the benches of the Catholic clergy in which some laymen also participated. In vain did Mirabeau raise his mighty voice against this presumption: "Unrestricted religious freedom is so sacred to me that even the word tolerance sounds tyrannical." Only the keen address of another deputy, Rabaud Saint-Etienne, carried the day for freedom of conscience. He remarked that he represented a population of half a million, including one hundred and twenty thousand Protestants, and he could not admit that these should be excluded from all offices and honors. But he pleaded for the Jews also: "I demand freedom for the ever-despised, homeless people of the Jews, who are doomed to wander on the face of the earth and are ever exposed to humiliation." Amidst powerful opposition, the Assembly adopted the principle which has since become the basis of European constitutions, that "no one is to be molested on account of his religious opinion, in so far as its expression does not interfere with the public order established by law."

One point of this petition of the French Jews was thus settled. But when the Jewish question proper was to come up for consideration later on (Sept. 3) it was postponed once more and referred to a committee. But the Jewish question assumed such an urgent aspect, as a result of persecutions to which the Jews were again subjected in several places, that the order of the day was interrupted on its account. It was again Grégoire who pleaded the cause of the persecuted. The Assembly thereupon resolved that the president address a circular letter to the various cities to the effect that the Declaration of Rights adopted by the Assembly applies to all men on earth, consequently to Jews also, and that accordingly the latter should not be annoyed. The king was requested to protect the Jews from further persecutions, though his authority had been considerably curtailed. This means, however, proved futile under the reign of unbridled passions. The Jewish representatives of the three bishoprics of Alsace and Lorraine determined therefore to get a hearing at all costs. Through the efforts of the deputy from Lorraine, Isaac Berr, the indefatigable champion of his coreligionists, received permission (Oct. 14) to address the National Assembly in order to describe the endless sorrows of his people and to plead for human treatment. The Assembly listened with profound emotion to the words of the speaker, who, at that moment, personified at once a pleading and an accusing Judaism. The President, Peteau, replied thereupon that the Assembly would be very happy to be in a position to secure tranquillity and happiness for the Jews of France. The Assembly applauded his words, and granted the Jewish representative permission to attend the sessions as a guest of honor, and promised to consider the enfranchisement of the Jews at the next session.

The Revolution had meanwhile moved forward again with a giant's stride; the people had led the proud French royalty, like a captive, from Versailles to Paris. The deputies also removed to Paris, and the capital yielded ever more deeply to the frenzy and excitement of the Revolution. The Jewish young men of Paris and those who had come from the provinces participated in all the occurrences. Even men of small means laid gifts upon the altar of the fatherland to relieve the financial distress. Salkind Hurwitz, who had been appointed interpreter of Oriental languages in the royal library, at a salary of nine hundred francs, voluntarily renounced a fourth of his meager income. At the session in which the Jewish question was to be finally decided, Clermont-Tonnerre and all staunch friends of freedom, such as Robespierre, Duport, Barnave, and, self-evidently, Mirabeau, spoke in favor of the Jews; the adherents of the old, such as Abbé Maury, Bishop la Fare of Nancy, and the Bishop of Clermont, offered a decided opposition. The majority decided, nevertheless, to enfranchise all those Jews who were known as Portuguese, Spaniards or Avignonese. The king approved this law immediately (Jan. 28, 1790). This was the first legal recognition of the Jews as citizens, though this recognition was limited to a comparatively small number. But an example had been set.

The representatives of the German-speaking Jews of France acquired their civil rights with greater difficulty. Realizing that little could be expected from new petitions to the National Assembly, they employed effective means to bring pressure to bear upon that body, and to force it, as it were, to grant their enfranchisement. The enemies of the Jews spread a report that a very wealthy Jew (Cerf Berr), together with several other Jews, had distributed large sums of money in Paris in order to gain protectors and champions for their coreligionists. This was a malicious calumny. They did, indeed, prevail upon the attorney Godard, a man of fiery eloquence, to defend their cause by written and spoken word and particularly to influence the all-powerful sections of Paris to demand, as it were, equal rights for the Jews from the National Assembly. The National Assembly decreed that the Jews of Alsace stood under the protection of the law, and ordered the authorities and the National Guard to look after their securiy. It also abolished, almost without opposition (July 20, 1791), the exceptional taxes to which the Jews of Alsace, and particularly of Metz, were subjected, and Louis XVI, after some hesitation, approved this law. But consideration of the main question, the complete emancipation of the Jews, was postponed from time to time. However, at the last hour before the dissolution of the National Assembly, Duport, a member of the Jacobin Club, bethought himself of the Jews and obtained full equality for them in a few words. He drew his conclusion from the rights of religious freedom: "I believe that the guarantee of religious liberty does not permit discrimination in political life on account of religion. The recognition of this equality has ever been postponed. Meanwhile, Turks, Mussulmen and people of all sects are permitted to enjoy political rights in France. I demand that adjournment be suspended, and a decree be issued that all Jews of France should enjoy the full rights of citizenship." This motion was received with thundering applause. One member demanded that all who speak in opposition be called to order because they were thereby attacking the Constitution. The National Assembly acceded to Duport's proposal, and on the following day formulated the law abolishing all exceptional regulations hitherto imposed upon the Jews, and inviting the Jews to take the civic oath. Two days later the National Assembly was dissolved to make room for a more violently revolutionary Assembly. A few days later Louis XVI gave his approval to this emancipation of the French Jews. They did not have to yield one iota of their religion; they were only asked to renounce their so-called privileges.

Berr Isaac Berr, in particular, rejoiced at this success to which he had contributed so large a share. He immediately addressed a jubilatory letter to his coreligionists to inspire them with enthusiasm for the freedom which they had achieved and to prepare them at the same time for suitable reforms. "The day has dawned at last when the veil that has covered us with humiliation is torn off. At last we have recovered the rights of which we have been deprived for eighteen centuries. How deeply must we acknowledge at this moment the wonderful mercy of the God of our fathers!" Thereupon he addressed timely, serious words to his French coreligionists to remind them gently of the faults which they had acquired in the period of their distress and to urge their discontinuance. Without detracting from their loyalty to their religion, the Jews must yield their spirit of exclusiveness to that of fellowship, must attach themselves closely to the state, and stake their property and, if need be, their life, for it. This was the meaning of the civic oath which they had taken. They must pay particular attention to the awakening of patriotic feelings, and to the education of the young. Berr also afforded the French Jews the means by which they could become true Frenchmen while remaining loyal members of the House of Jacob. He urged particularly that the Bible should be translated into French (after Mendelssohn's German translation) and imparted to the rising generation, so that the corrupt German language might be entirely banished from their midst.

The enfranchised French Jews made considerable sacrifices for the French state that was suffering for want of money. The comparatively small community of Bordeaux voluntarily contributed more than one hundred thousand francs to the support of the government. They offered their blood also upon the altar of the fatherland that embraced them lovingly. The French army which was soon to march from victory to victory contained Jewish warriors in its ranks who fought with equal courage. Those who remained at home followed the soldiers with their fervent wishes and rejoiced in their victories. In this period of enthusiasm that made for courage, a large portion of the French Jews abandoned with marvelous rapidity that timid and cringing demeanor which had formerly exposed them to ridicule.

During the frenzy of the Reign of Terror which, like a scourge of God, fell upon both the guilty and the innocent, individual Jews also suffered when the military commission of Jacobins persecuted the proscribed Girondists in Bordeaux, and erected the guillotine in that city (summer of 1793). Abraham Furtado, as a Girondist, had to flee for his life and his property was, of course, confiscated. The Terrorists also cast suspicious eyes upon wealthy Jews. Charles Peixotto of Bordeaux, charged by a Jacobin citizen with being an aristocrat of the highest nobility because he was a member of the tribe of Levi, was led before the judge and condemned to the guillotine, when the military commission recalled that this descendant of Levi had displayed the greatest zeal in purchasing national estates—that is, the forfeited estates of the Church. For this reason he was let off with a fine of one million and two hundred thousand francs, but was kept in prison until this sum was paid. The familiarity of the Jews with persecutions, their prudence, and their skill in playing dead, as it were—"Hide thyself for a moment until the storm is past"—may have protected them from the bloody tribunal. Moreover, they entertained, on the whole, no ambition to come to the fore or to play an important part; they did not offend the powers that were. And so the storm of the Revolution rushed by without any evil effects upon them. They brought, however, one sacrifice to the guillotine: the son of a Jewish land-owner, named Carmel, was guillotined on some political charge.

The bluster by which the two blaspheming deputies, Chaumette and Hébert, carried away the Convention in favor of the Religion of Reason (Nov., 1793-May, 1794) had no direct effect upon the Jews. The deep exasperation and anger against religion were directed solely at Catholicism or Christianity whose servants had themselves put innumerable victims to death. The decree of the Convention therefore reads merely: "The Catholic cult is abolished and is replaced by the worship of Reason." Attempts, to be sure, were made to induce the Convention to forbid the Jews to practice the rite of circumcision and to wear beards that they might in no respect be distinguishable from the rest of the population, and pay homage to equality. But the Convention paid no attention to this nonsense. In the provinces, however, and, as it seems, in the former German territories for the most part, the authorities and the extremists among the members of the clubs extended the suppression of religion to include Jews too. In Nancy an official called upon the Jews of that community, in the name of the city authorities, to present themselves on a given day in the national temple in order to renounce "their superstition," together with the clergy of other denominations, and especially to surrender the silver and golden ornaments of the synagogs. Infuriated men broke into the synagogs, snatched the sacred rolls from the ark and burned them, or searched the houses for Hebrew books with the intention of destroying them. When the Convention decreed that only every tenth day of the month be observed as a day of rest, while Sunday be regarded as a work-day, the mayors of several cities (Strassburg, Troyes) interpreted it as including the Sabbath. In the rural districts Jews were compelled to work in the fields on Saturdays and on Jewish holidays, and to cut down and bring in grain. The rabbis were as much annoyed as the bishops. Isaac Lenczyc, the rabbi of a small town, Westhafen near Strassburg, was imprisoned for exercising rabbinical functions (June-July, 1794) and was threatened with death. David Sinzheim, the afterward president of the French Sanhedrin, who sojourned in Strassburg, was compelled to flee from city to city, to escape imprisonment or death. In Metz the Jews dared not openly bake their unleavened bread for the Passover, until a clever Jewish woman gathered courage to explain to the revolutionary officers that the Jews had ever regarded their unleavened bread as a symbol of freedom. Seligmann Alexander of Strassburg, a kinsman of Cerf Berr, was imprisoned on the charge of egotism and fanaticism because of his wealth and the open practice of his religion, despite the fact that he had voluntarily contributed upward of forty thousand francs to the government in the hour of its need. In Paris Jewish school teachers had to bring their pupils on the decadis to the Church of Notre-Dame which had been transformed into the Temple of Reason in honor of the Religion of Reason. But this persecution passed quickly by without any special consequences. With the victory of the Thermidorians over Robespierre (July 27, 1794), the Reign of Terror gradually subsided. The population was intent upon leniency. Throughout all the changes of government the equality of the French Jews was not questioned. The new constitution of the year III of the Republic or the Constitution of the Directory (autumn, 1795) took it for granted that the Jews were legally recognized French citizens, and obliterated the last traces of inequality. The law gave expression to the wise principle: "No one can be compelled to contribute to the support of another's cult; the Republic keeps none in pay." In Metz alone some traces of Medievalism still remained as far as the Jewish community was concerned.

The liberation of the Jews followed the victorious troops of the French republic. It first struck root in Holland, which had been transformed into a Batavian Republic (beginning of 1795) where several alert Jews—Asser (Moses and Carolus), de Lemon and Bromet—had ere this joined the Felix Liberate Club, which had adopted the motto of the French Republic: "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." This political maxim was generally recognized by the States-General (March 4, 1795). The fifty thousand Jews of Holland, divided into Portuguese and German communities, were hitherto discriminated against in many respects in comparison with the followers of Christianity. In the first place, they were tolerated only as corporate bodies, as small commonwealths within the larger one, as it were. That they were disqualified from holding office they did not regard as a hardship, for they had hitherto no desire to share in that right. But they also had been excluded from some guild-trades. They had to contribute to the dominant cult and to the schools, without deriving any benefit from it. And other annoying discriminations were not lacking either. The desire for absolute equality was therefore urgently felt, and by the German even more so than by the Portuguese Jews bcause the latter were, for the most part, treated with consideration by the patricians as wealthy noblemen, while the former were treated with contempt as ragged Polacks. In the first stage of elation some of the annoyances to which the Hollandish or Batavian Jews had hitherto been subjected were done away with without much ado, and several voices were raised in favor of the complete emancipation of the Jews. In the course of time, however, anti-Jewish writings aroused public opinion against them, as was the case in France; one of these, van Swieden's "Advice to the Representatives of the People," made a particularly strong impression. Strange to say, the rabbis and communal heads, particularly the high and mighty parnassim (heads of the community) of Amsterdam, both the Portuguese and the German, were averse to enfranchisement.

These rabbis and communal representatives announced publicly that the Jews preferred to maintain their former relations to the state, and desired to take no advantage of equality. Only a few Jews participated in the elections of the first Batavian National Assembly, although they had been invited to do so. For this reason Amsterdam, with a Jewish population of twenty thousand, did not elect a single Jewish deputy. The Jewish friends of freedom found themselves therefore in a difficult position in Holland; they had to fight at the same time against opponents from within and from without. They had to be all the more alert to overcome this double obstacle. When the Jewish question came up for consideration (Aug., 1796), the tension was very great. Although the enfranchisement of the Jews of the Batavian Republic was already recognized in principle as well as in practice by the invitation extended to them to participate in the elections, it still encountered an opposition almost stronger than in France. The conservative deputies from Holland were at heart still firm believers in the Bible, and they still regarded the New Testament writings as the word of God to the effect that the Jews, because of the crucifixion of the Son of God, are rejected and must remain so. But Noël, the French ambassador, turned the scales in favor of the Jews, and carried his point imperiously. After long deliberations, the absolute equality of the Batavian Jews was decreed (Sept. 2, 1796) with the addition: "for those who desire to take advantage of it."

The Jews of Holland did not generally manifest the same joy at the announcement of this decision as did the Jews of France when their emancipation was announced. They had not been conscious of such great oppression as to hail their new freedom with shouts of Joy. They had no ambition to occupy a prominent position in the state, and saw in complete emancipation only burdens and peril to their religion. They were therefore exasperated at those who had accomplished their emancipation, and thus brought about the dissolution of their corporate union. There consequently ensued friction and schisms in Amsterdam. The liberals, members of the German community for the most part, had demanded that seasonable changes be made in the regulations that had hitherto enabled the rabbis and especially the heads of the community to rule the members with an iron hand. The leaders of the community not only declined to accede to this request, but even threatened the petitioners with fines. The liberals, thereupon, left the established synagog, organized a community of their own, and declared, in addition, that they were the legitimate community (end of 1796). The adherents of the old placed the seceders under a sort of ban on that account, prohibited the members of their community to have any intercourse with them and to intermarry with them. The political became at the same time a religious faction. For the adherents of the new community (Adat Yeshurun) began to introduce a sort of reform. They eliminated from their prayer-book the execratory (ve-la-Malshinim), originally introduced against the Jewish-Christian apostates, but erroneously applied to all Christians. They did away with the speedy interment of the dead, and established a new, cleanly communal bath-house, all of which were merely harmless reforms, but regarded by the ultra-orthodox as serious transgressions against Judaism. The exasperation of the latter against the innovators was so great that the ignorant masses of the German community threatened them with death, and would have carried that threat into execution had not the authorities interfered. Strange it is that the magistracy supported the old community and took sides against the new one. The latter, however, succeeded in deposing the fanatical leaders of the German community who proceeded against the seceders even more recklessly than did the heads of the Portuguese community, probably at the instance of the French ambassador Noël. To the new Board members of the new community were elected. Gradually, however, several members of the old party became reconciled to the new order of things and with the aims of the liberals. Even the fanatics felt flattered when two Amsterdam Jews—Bromet and de Lemon—were elected deputies to the National Assembly. Several of them went to The Hague to witness the opening of the second National Assembly (1797) in order to enjoy the honor which fell to the lot of the Jewish deputies. They became still more favorably impressed with the idea of emancipation when, later on, the Jewish deputy, Isaac da Costa Atias, was elected a member of the municipal council of the National Assembly, and finally was chosen president of that body (1798). The head of the Batavian Republic, the Grand Pensionary Schimmelpennink, took the enfranchisement of the Jews seriously and appointed well-qualified Jewish men to office without hesitation. Moresco was appointed an official of the city government of Amsterdam and Moses Asser of the department of justice. Holland was the first country in Europe that appointed Jews to office.

It was only natural that there should awaken in the hearts of the liberal members a feeling of self-consciousness and a sort of noble pride. They were very indignant at the fact that the Jews were still treated by the German princes like outcasts or cattle. They therefore moved in the National Assembly that the Batavian ambassador to the French Republic be instructed to propose at the peace congress of Rastatt that Dutch Jews should no longer be subject to the payment of toll (Leibzoll) in Germany, else all Germans travelling in Holland would be subjected to the same indignity. The National

Assembly adopted that motion. Wherever the heroic French gained a footing in Germany and Italy, the Jews were liberated. The ghetto walls were razed, the bent forms stood erect. In Venice, where the ghetto had its origin, the ghetto doors were opened upon the entrance of the French. In Piedmont, a clergyman greeted the liberation of the Jews with a prayer and an impassioned address in the synagog. Cologne, that ever since the fifteenth century never permitted a Jew to stay overnight, had to admit a Jew, Joseph Isaac (1798), when it became French territory. The name of the invincible French, who had achieved marvellous victories in Italy, had reached to the furthermost corners of Europe, and excited terror and admiration. A new Alexander, the Corsican Bonaparte, a war-god, hardly thirty years old, started on an expedition with a comparatively small army to conquer Egypt. Within less than six months (July-Nov., 1798) Egypt lay prostrate at his feet. But a Turkish army was approaching to give him battle. Bonaparte advanced against the Turks in Palestine. Thus, by a wonderful concatenation of historic events the Holy Land became the theatre of a bloody war between the representatives of the new and of the old spirit in Europe. El-Arish and Gaza in the southwestern region of Palestine, fell into the hands of the French army (Jan., 1799). The inhabitants of Jerusalem were terror-stricken at the news of the victories and the cruelties of the French. Rumor had it that Napoleon intended to come to the Holy City too. At the command of the under-pasha, the inhabitants began to throw up banks. The Jews, too, assisted in this work. Mordecai Joseph Meyuhas, one of the Jerusalem rabbis, urged them to work even on the Sabbath, and himself set the example. Bonaparte had, indeed, issued a proclamation calling upon the Jews of Asia and

Africa to join his standards, with the promise that he would give the Holy Land to them, and, a second Cyrus, would restore the prestige of Jerusalem. As a result of this proclamation, a large number of Jews, it is said, gathered in Syria and threatened Aleppo. But those of Jerusalem, it seems, either reposed no confidence in his flattering promises or received no tidings of his proclamation. It was probably a mere artifice employed by Napoleon to win over Hayim Maalem Farchi, the Jewish minister of the pasha of Acco, who was the soul of the defence of that important fortress of the sea. This Jewish statesman, the son of Saul Farchi, who was the minister of finance of the pasha of Damascus, remained loyal to the Turks, conducted the war against the French, and assisted the English in their struggle with the French.

In the Plain of Esdraelon (Jezreel), near Mount Tabor, the scene of many battles in the days of old, four thousand French soldiers routed a Turkish army six times their number. Acco, however, Napoleon could not capture; he had to raise the siege and withdraw to Egypt. Napoleon's appearance in Palestine was like that of a terrible meteor that vanishes after its work of desolation is done. His dream of becoming the emperor of the Orient and of restoring Jerusalem to the Jews vanished quickly. In the battle of Aboukir (July), he annihilated a vast Turkish army, and while everyone believed that he was occupied with the conquest of the Orient, he landed in France, made himself dictator, put an end to anarchy, and made himself master of France (18-20 Brumaire—9-11 November, 1799). But one achievement of the Revolution, equality, Napoleon permitted to remain, and even strengthened it. This proved of especial advantage to the Jews. It depended no longer upon the pleasure of a ruler, but penetrated deeply into the consciousness of the French people in the course of the convulsions of ten years of revolution. There was, however, something still missing to the complete equality of the French Jews. Both in the constitution of the consulate and under the empire, the Jews, as citizens, were without question placed on an equal footing with other Frenchmen. But upon the restoration of the old cult and upon the conclusion of the concordat with the papacy, Judaism as a form of public worship was not legally established. Napoleon entertained at the same time both the highest respect and contempt for Judaism. Appreciating, as he did, the significance of historic facts that defied the mutations of time, he was forcibly impressed by Judaism that tenaciously resisted so many storms and persecutions. But he could not recognize its greatness beneath the form of servitude that had stunted it, and he fully shared in the general prejudice against the established Judaism which, after all, was misunderstood by Jews themselves. For this reason, Bonaparte was uncertain as to the legal position to be assigned to Judaism. His recognition of the inviolability of freedom of conscience and his admiration for the great antiquity of Judaism, forbade interference with the internal affairs of the Jews; but the national character of Judaism and its obvious excrescences caused him and his advisers to hesitate about giving it unqualified recognition in its fixed form. For this reason he deferred again and again the promulgation of a law with reference to the position of the Jewish cult. The Jews, however, were extremely content with the changes brought about by the 18th Brumaire, and with the peace and tranquillity that followed. They were carried away, moreover, by great admiration for the son of the people who had risen from obscurity, humbled the enemies of France, extended his power far and wide, and had put a stop to anarchy within the country.

Napoleon's heroic achievements reawakened the Hebrew muse. Elijah Halevi (Halfon, born about 1760-1826), who had emigrated from Fürth to Paris, wrote a panegyric (Ha-Shalom) in honor of the Peace of Amiens and of Napoleon, which was sung in the synagog of Paris (Sunday, Nov. 11, year X—1801). This panegyric was a truly poetic masterpiece. One does not know what to admire most in this poem: the splendid imagery, the vivid, charming yet faithful description of the wonderful deeds of the French Revolution and of Bonaparte, the sonorous verses, or the brilliancy of the Neo-Hebraic diction, worthy of an Isaiah or the Korahites. Elijah Halevi has no peer in the long succession of neo-Hebraic poets; he excelled by far the Spanish poets Gebirol and Judah Halevi, and the Italian poet Luzzatto. His contemporary Neo-Hebraic poets worthy of mention were: Joseph Ephrati Troplowitz (b. ab. 1770, d. 1804), who wrote a drama with the tragic King Saul as its hero (Meluchath Shaul, Vienna, 1794); Shalom Kohen (b. in Meseritz, Posen, 1771; d. in Hamburg, 1845), the author of "Oriental Plants on Northern Soil" (1807), who attempted to create Hebrew epic poems centering about the life of Abraham and King David (Nir David, 1834); and Solomon Pappenheim (1740-1814), the author of "Four Cups" (Arba Kosoth, 1790), a happy imitation of Young's Night Thoughts, written in poetic prose. The verses of Troplowitz and Kohen resemble those of Wessely, whom they took as their model; they are faultless in form, but are not at all poetic. However, none of these three neo-Hebraic poets can compare with Elijah Halevi in nobility of strain and in depth. Halevi's "Hymn of Peace" fills one with regret that neo-Hebraic poetry does not possess any more such songs from his pen. However, to the adepts who, at the same time, appreciate the niceties of Hebrew poetry, this single poem suffices to establish the fame of the poet who lived in poverty, even if his two gifted sons, the composer Jacques Fromenthal Elie Halévy, and the French poet Leon Halévy, had not immortalized the name.

While the equality of the Jews of France, Holland, Italy and of all territories conquered by the French remained in force, the Jews of Austria, Prussia and of the hundreds of the petty German states had to endure the old humiliations. "Nathan the Wise" and Dohm's work on emancipation were given to the Germans in vain. The prejudices against the Jews increased, if possible; the Kölbeles multiplied. Spiritually and politically enslaved as the Germans were, they seemed to derive a sort of comfort from the enslavement of the Jews and from the contempt in which they were held. They could feel that they were free, because they could see beneath them another class of human beings whom they could scorn and maltreat with impunity. In Berlin, the very seat of enlightenment, the Jewish physicians, no matter how great their fame, were not entered in the register of their Christian colleagues, but in a separate register; were assigned to a ghetto, as it were. The greatest poet and the greatest thinker of that period, Goethe and Fichte, shared in the prejudice of the Germans against the Jews, and made no secret of it. Goethe, the representative of aristocracy, and Fichte, the champion of democracy in Germany, both wished the Jews to be kept as far away as possible from Christian society, as though they were tainted. Both, it is true, had fallen out with the Church; Christianity, with its belief in miracles, they looked upon as folly, and both were regarded as atheists.

Nevertheless, they detested the Jews in the name of Jesus. Should the Jews be given equal rights? Fichte expressed himself decidedly against it; not even in the Christian state, in his view a pitiful, lawless and irrational state, should they be naturalized.

If the Jews found no favor in the eyes of the leaders of the democracy and aristocracy of Germany, what could be expected from the great multitude that was still sunk in brutality? Two noble-minded Christians had, indeed, addressed words of profound conviction to the Congress of Rastatt to deliver the German Jews from their disgrace. One, an unknown philanthropist, hurled the shafts of scorn at the callousness of German Jew-baiting; and the other, Christian Grund, showed with logical keenness the injustice done to the Jews. By influencing public opinion, both of them wished to support the request made by the Dutch Jews of the diplomatic representatives to compel, as it were, the German princes to respect the German Jews. Grund complimented the Germans in order to win them over. But the response of the German princes and rulers was not very complaisant.

The most revolting indignity inflicted upon the Jews was the Leibzoll (poll-tax), a purely Germanic invention, entirely unknown outside of Germany. Of what profit was it that Emperor Joseph had abolished it in Austria, and Frederick William II in Prussia? It still remained in force in all its hideousness in Central and Western Germany and in the region of the Main and the Rhine, where pigmy states, a few square miles in extent, bordered closely upon one another, and where turnpikes rose at short intervals. If a Jew made but a single day's journey, he touched different domains, and had to pay the tax at each border. But more degrading than the payment of the money was the manner of its collection. The tax often consisted of only a few pennies, but the brutal behavior of the officials at every border offended even the richest. So long as the French army was in occupation of German territory the Jews were freed from the toll, but the French army had no sooner departed, in consequence of the Peace of Luneville, when the petty German princes reintroduced the tax, not so much as a matter of revenue, but rather in order to humiliate the Jews. They inflicted the same ignominy also upon the French Jews who had come over the Rhine on business, referring to a literal interpretation of an article in the Treaty of Campo Formio which read: "All commercial and trade relations remain, in the interim, in the same status as before the war." The French Jews, proud of their citizenship, complained to the French government of this injustice. Jollivet, the government commissary, instructed the envoys of the French Republic to the German courts not to suffer the French citizens of the Jewish faith to be treated like cattle (1801). Several petty princes complied quietly, and no longer subjected French Jews to the tax; for German Jewish travelers, however, the tax remained in force. Every attempt at removing the oppressive burdens from the shoulders of the German Jews required considerable effort.

In consequence of the Peace of Luneville, the Holy Roman Empire was dismembered for the first time. The imperial deputation which assembled at Ratisbon was to reunite the severed members to some extent, or indemnify those who had sustained losses. To this conference of the delegates of eight princes that occupied themselves with haggling over territory, the German Jews addressed a petition to grant them passive citizenship (Nov. 15, 1802), that it abolish the discriminations under which they labored, to give them freedom of movement, and to remove the restrictions which hampered their population, their commerce and their industry. The Jews, of course, hardly expected that the imperial deputation would accede to all their requests, but hoped to achieve, at least, the abolition of the toll. Quite unexpectedly this petition was presented and supported by the most prominent member of the conference, the envoy of the electorate of Bohemia or Austria, who moved, in addition, that "the rights of citizenship be conferred upon the Jews of Germany" (end of 1802). The conference, however, had too many other matters to attend to to occupy itself with the Jewish question. The petition found its grave among the official documents.

Realizing that nothing was to be expected from Germany as a whole, those who paid close attention to the course of events directed their energies toward inducing individual governments to abolish the poll-tax. In this connection there were two men who deserved special credit: Israel Jacobson (b. in Halberstadt, 1769, d. in Berlin, 1828) and Wolff Breidenbach (b. near Cassel, 1751, d. in Offenbach, 1824). The former, court agent and financial adviser of the Duke of Brunswick, succeeded in inducing that prince to abolish the poll-tax in the domain of Brunswick and Lüneburg (1803). Far more comprehensive were the services of Wolff Breidenbach, a noble-minded man of such modesty that despite all the sacrifices he had brought for the German Jews, his name almost fell into oblivion. He had not, like Jacobson, taken care to spread his name far and wide. Coming to Frankfort as a Talmudic student and living in poverty, he secretly acquired an education from Mendelssohn's writings and from the literature of the Meassefim, mastered the Hebrew, and learned to translate skillfully from that language into German. A master of chess, he accidentally made the acquaintance of a baron or prince who was fond of that game, and the latter invited him to his house, placed him in charge of his business affairs, and loaned him a considerable sum of money to start a banking and jewelry business. Breidenbach was as clever a business man as a chess player, was successful in his enterprises, and became the court agent of several petty princes. Quietly he devoted himself to the task of breaking the chain of the poll-tax where it cut most deeply. At first he succeeded in its abolition on the part of the prince (of Isenburg), whose agent he was (1803). But Breidenbach realized that considerable sums of money would be required to accomplish this deliverance on a large scale—gifts to the police authorities and to the clergymen of the town, ostensibly for the poor, as well as the erection of pretty "monuments for the noble princes" that their hearts might be softened to permit the Jews to live without annoyance. He therefore issued an appeal to German and foreign Jews (end of September, 1803) to raise funds to cover the expenses incidental to the abolition of the poll-tax. By this means and through personal negotiations with the petty German princes at the imperial diet of Ratisbon, with the coöperation of the imperial chancellor Dalberg, he obtained freedom of travel for the Jews in the regions of the Rhine and in Bavaria. Even the narrow, Jew-baiting magistracy of Frankfort felt moved by Breidenbach's petition to abolish the poll-tax at the gates and at the bridges.

The petition of the Jews to the imperial deputation for civil rights, though in a restricted sense, the inclination of several princes to loosen their chains, and other favorable signs struck terror into the hearts of the Jew-baiters. They could not conceive the idea that in Germany, too, the despised

Jews should be raised out of their lowliness. This uncomfortable feeling drove a number of writers in various parts of Germany, such as Paalzow, Grattenauer, Buchholz and many anonymous ones, as though by common agreement, to oppose with all their might for several years in succession (1803-1805) the raising of the Jews from their state of servitude. They exhibited such a furious Jew-hatred that they remind one of the days of the Black Death, Capistrano and the Dominicans. In former times it was the servants of the Church, for the most part, who stigmatized the Jews; in the present it was the priests of justice who accepted this role in order to keep them in their degradation by the perversion of justice. The majority and the most stubborn representatives of this anti-Jewish movement had their seat in Berlin, the city of enlightenment and of the Christianity of Schleiermacher. The character of the teachings of Judaism, the past of the Jewish people, even their prophets and patriarchs, in a word, everything that was regarded as Jewish was slandered and defamed by these literary highwaymen. Grattenauer, who styled himself a second Haman, carried his calumnies to the extreme. It was his object to enflame the entire German people, high and low, with hatred and wrath against the Jews.

Two circles of the Jewry of Berlin who had believed themselves proof against such attacks because they were ashamed of their origin and wished to forget it, felt keenly these poisoned darts hurled at them. These two circles were the Society of Friends or "the Jewish Dandies," as Grattenauer styled them, and the salon of Henriette Herz, or "the Jewish beauties." Rudely and painfully they were reminded of their origin. Grattenauer flayed unmercifully the circle of Henriette Herz and Rahel that had contemptuously turned its back on Judaism.

The leaders of Berlin Jewry were helpless in the face of this systematic attack upon the Jews. David Friedländer held his peace. Ben-David set about to write something against it, but very wisely desisted. The Jews of Germany and of France had changed parts. In the days of Mendelssohn, and even later, the German Jews had to take their French coreligionists under their tutelage whenever the latter were subjected to injustice. But freedom had inspired the French Jews with such independence and self-reliance that they now repelled with courage and skill every attack upon their coreligionists and faith, while the Jews of Berlin behaved like helpless children at the first hostile assault made upon them. In their perplexity they appealed to the police for protection, and induced the authorities to prohibit the publication of any book for or against the Jews. This step was interpreted by their enemies as an act of cowardice, or a confession of their weakness. A new libel, under the title "Can the Jews Remain in Their Present Condition Without Derogating from the State?" written in a calmer tone than Grattenauer's book, intensified the feelings against the Jews.

This writer, filled with the loving spirit of Christianity, offered suggestions for getting the Jews out of the way that surpassed even the barbarity of the Middle Ages. "Not only must the Jews again be shut in a ghetto and placed under constant police surveillance, and wear a badge on their sleeves, but the second sons among the 'Jew Boys' must be castrated to prevent the increase of their population." Protestant theology and German philosophy advised the adoption of measures against the Jews which went far beyond the canonical papal decrees of Innocent III and Paul IV. Paalzow, Grattenauer, Bucholz and their confréres were genuine disciples of Schleiermacher and Fichte, who would have none of Lessing.

Outside of Berlin also, especially in Frankfort-on-the-Main and in Breslau, there appeared similar libels which incited such hatred that several kindly disposed clergymen found it necessary to caution from their pulpits against a persecution of Jews. Even the well-meaning apologies written by Christians admitted the vileness of the Jews, and thought that it would by all means be to the advantage of the Christians if there were no Jews among them; but since the evil existed, it must be endured. A Königsberg Jew partly joined in this cry, and made the miserable suggestion that in order to eradicate the Jew-hatred, the state (always the state!) compel every Jew to marry at least one of his daughters to a Christian, and to permit one of his sons to marry a Christian woman. The children of such mixed marriages should be baptized. Why not simply force all Jews to accept baptism? A Silesian Jew showed a clearer comprehension of the situation. In his opinion it was utterly unnecessary to engage in apologies or in comparisons between Jewish and Christian crime, but an appeal should be made to Jewish girls warning them against associating with Grattenauer's brethren. A Jewish maid must be utterly devoid of a spark of honor to encourage the love of a man whom she knows to hold her sisters in ill-repute. Such an appeal would serve a double purpose: it would guard Jewish girls against seduction, and would put a stop to the ostentation of Jewish women.

Two Jewish writers, one living at Königsberg, the other at Hamburg, adopted a still better course. Both realized that the German Jew-hatred could be silenced not by logical arguments but solely by raillery. These two were precursors of Börne and Heine. The former, under the name of Dominius Haman Epiphanes, explained satirically that unless all Jews are promptly massacred and all Jewesses sold as slaves, the world, Christianity and all states, must inevitably perish. The other, under the name of Lefrank, changed from apology to attack. He asked the Germans how it came that the prisons were so crowded with Christian murderers, prisoners, thieves, and adulterers? "Destroy first the scaffold, the gallows, the rack, and the horrible array of excruciating death penalties which had not been invented by Jews, after all. Is fraud peculiar to the Jews?" . . . "You are defrauded by your Christian tailor; your shoemaker gives you cheap leather; your grocer false measure and weight, and your baker an undersized loaf of bread even in times of abundant harvests. Your wine is adulterated, your man-servant and maid-servant conspire to defraud you." . . . "Among the numerous suspensions of payment which have just occurred in London and in Paris, is there a single Jew involved? It is sheer nonsense, that prattle of the great Fichte about the Jews forming a state within a state. . . . You cannot forgive the Jew for speaking a correct German, for dressing more decently, for judging more judiciously. He no longer has even a beard by which one could pull him, and he no longer speaks a gibberish which you could mimic. . . . For twenty years the Jew had made efforts to draw near to the Christian; but how was he received? How often did he encroach upon his canonical law in order to get closer to you, but you have turned your back on him, out of sheer humanity." Lefrank's self-consciousness was the surest presage of the ultimate victory of the Jews.

It was the battle of Jena which humbled the insolent, the extensive conquests of the French in Germany, and the awakened consciousness of genuine freedom on the part of the German people that assisted the Jews in obtaining some measure of equality.

CHAPTER IV

THE REVIVAL OF THE SANHEDRIN AND THE REACTION

(1806-1818)

Not since the Roman period did the world witness such rapid changes and catastrophes as at the beginning of the nineteenth century. A new empire had arisen, intent upon becoming a universal empire. All the powers of the earth humbled themselves before Napoleon, who had become the emperor of the French, even more than they did before the First Consul Bonaparte. The pope, who execrated him and the entire new order of things from the bottom of his heart, hypocritically anointed him the successor of Charles the Great. The German princes were the first to recognize fawningly this innovation, the elevation above themselves of an upstart, and paid dearly for their weakness. The turn of Austria came first. At the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon humbled this conglomeration of crownlands and shattered the Holy German-Roman Empire. Germany shared the fate of Poland: it was dismembered; but while the Poles succumbed to their grief and died, the several members of the German empire were entirely indifferent to their dismemberment. In apathetic numbness they paid homage one day to one ruler, the next day to another. Francis I declined the crown of the German Empire. German princes became the vassals of the Corsican upstart who controlled them at will as the protector of the newly established Confederation of the Rhine. Napoleon then humiliated Prussia after the unfortunate battle of Jena.

As though contact with the Germans infected him with Jew-hatred, Napoleon assumed a different attitude toward the Jews since that time. While he had formerly admired the great antiquity and the heroic struggle of the Jewish people, he now evidenced contempt toward them. The Germans in Alsace attempted at once to take advantage of his unfavorable frame of mind to reduce the French Jews to their former degrading position.

The upheavals of the Revolution had silenced the old complaints against the Jews. Jewish creditors or usurers and their debtors were equally impoverished during the Reign of Terror, the old order passed. When tranquillity was restored once more, many Jews who, as a result of their energy, had again acquired some wealth, fell back upon their old trade. What were they to do? Men who were already advanced in years could not be expected to begin to learn handicrafts or agriculture. Even the Jewish young men experienced great difficulty in entering those fields, because the narrow-minded Christian masters of the German-speaking provinces did not welcome Jewish apprentices. There was, however, a large class of the Alsatian population from whom well-to-do Jews could derive a livelihood. The peasants and day-laborers, who were serfs up to the Revolution, became free men, but they had no means with which to acquire landed property and to make use of their physical strength.

They had lost their cattle and even their implements during the years of the upheavals; many of them had fled to escape enlistment. Upon the restoration of peace, this peasant class turned to the well-to-do Jews for an advance of money to enable them to acquire and to cultivate small plots of the public domain. The Jewish capitalists complied, and probably exacted a large profit. The peasants made a good bargain for all that; for they attained a certain prosperity by means of these loans. In the course of a few years their landed property amounted to sixty million francs for about a sixth of which they were indebted to the Jews. It was, to be sure, rather difficult for the Alsatian peasants to draw out cash money with which to satisfy their Jewish creditors, particularly at the time when the Napoleonic wars called them away from the plow to take up arms. As a consequence, suits against the debtors multiplied, and the latter were compelled by law to surrender their fields and vineyards to their Jewish creditors. Some Jewish usurers may possibly have treated their debtors with much harshness.

The enemies of the Jews took advantage of this state of affairs. The offences of individual Jews they ascribed to all Jews, exaggerated the suffering of the Christian debtors whom the law compelled to pay, and stamped all Jews as usurers and extortioners, to the end that the French Jews who lived in their provinces might be deprived of their civil rights. At the head of this agitation there stood, as ever, the burghers of the German city of Strassburg who had endeavored in vain to exclude the Jews from their walls, and who watched with suppressed rage the increasing number of Jewish newcomers. The Jewish population of Strassburg contained no usurers, but was, on the contrary, composed entirely of well-to-do, upright and educated

Jews, such as the families of Cerf Berr, Ratisbonne and Picard, who were landowners for the most part. Nevertheless, it was just the Strassburgers who complained most loudly against the Jews. The prefect of Strassburg, a German, made common cause with the merchants. When Napoleon tarried in Strassburg after his hundred days' campaign against the Austrians (January, 1806) he was importuned by the prefect and by a deputation of Alsatians who endeavored to prove to him that the Jews were detrimental to the state. On that occasion, Napoleon recalled that in the course of one expedition he had met some Jews near Ulm who had bought plundered articles from the soldiers and that he had become indignant over it. The Jew-baiters succeeded in conveying to him that it was Strassburg Jews who always followed the army in order to grow rich on the captured frippery, and that the Jews in general were nothing but old-clothes men and hucksters. To bring still greater influence to bear upon the emperor to assume a hostile attitude toward the Jews, this complaint maintained that the exasperation against the Jews throughout Alsace, nay, throughout all the (German) provinces of the Upper and Lower Rhine, was so great that a repetition of the scenes of the Middle Ages was to be feared. In the public houses, the killing of Jews was often discussed. Napoleon left Strassburg with this unfavorable impression of the Jews, and promised to redress the grievances. To strengthen this impression, judges, prefects and all German-speaking officials importuned him to deprive the Jews of their civil rights. The minister of justice, overwhelmed by the mass of complaints against the Jews, was about to decide to place the Jews of France under exceptional laws, and to forbid them to deal in mortgages for a given time. This animosity to the Jews was further encouraged by the bigotry and intolerance of that reactionary party which, at that time, first began to intrigue for the suppression of freedom of thought which is the mother of political liberty, and for making the Catholic Church supreme over peoples and princes. The chief representative of this party was the publicist Louis Gabriel Ambroise Bonald who, with Chateaubriand, the romanticist, and Fontanes, the past-master in the art of adulation, brought about the odious ecclesiastical and political reaction. Bonald who, after a brief intoxication with liberty, unfolded the banner of Bourbon legitimacy and extolled it by means of mystic nonsense, regarded the freedom of the Jews as derogatory to the power of the Church, and exerted himself to the utmost to destroy the equality of the Jews in France. He envied the Germans who, wise and more cautious than the French, had, at most, abolished the poll-tax, while they continued oppressing the Jews in every other respect.

It was fortunate for the future of the Jews that the enemies of freedom and the fanatics of the Church made Jew-hatred a part of their program. It thus forced the friends of liberty to make the cause of the Jews their own. For the time being, however, Bonald's agitation proved of considerable detriment to the Jews. It reached the emperor's ears by circuitous paths. The Jews of France did not at all recognize the import of this agitation; but the matter had taken a very serious turn. Napoleon had submitted this question to the council of state for thorough deliberation, and the latter referred it to a young member, Count Molé, known in subsequent French history as a model of equivocation. To the surprise of all the older, experienced members of the council of state, Molé, whose great grandmother was a Jewess, gave to his report an extremely anti-Jewish coloring, and virtually recommended the abrogation of the civil equality of the French Jews. His report was, indeed, received by the older councillors with the contempt it deserved, because they could not conceive of the possibility of infringing upon the equality of civil rights hallowed by the Revolution. Nevertheless, the Jewish question was to come up for discussion at a session of the entire council of state, under the presidency of Napoleon (April, 1806), because he attached great importance to it. The weal and the woe not only of the Jews of France and Italy, but also of all Europe as well, depended upon the result of this conference. Napoleon became irritated at the opposition manifested by some liberal councillors. He spoke of the Jews almost in the language of Fichte and Grattenauer, to the effect that they formed a state within a state, that they were the feudal aristocracy of the present day, and not worthy of being placed on an equal footing with Catholics and Protestants. Two influential members of the council: Regnault and Segur, ventured, nevertheless, to speak in favor of the Jews or rather in that of justice. They called attention to the fact that the Jews were held in high esteem in Bordeaux, Marseilles, and in the Italian cities that belonged to France, as well as in Holland, and that the offences imputed to the Jews of Alsace should be laid at the door not of Judaism, but of the unfortunate circumstances. They also succeeded in allaying Napoleon's anger for the time being. In addition, other influential persons called his attention to the distinctions gained by the Jews within a short time in the arts, the sciences, agriculture and handicraft. They pointed out to him many persons whom he had signalized by pensions or by the Order of the Legion of Honor as brave warriors, and that it consequently must be a calumny of the Jew-haters to describe all Jews as usurers or frippers. At the second session of the Council of State (May 7, 1806) he spoke of the Jews in a kindlier tone, though he could not shake off the prejudice that the Jewish nation was a usurious and oppressive people from time immemorial, even in the days of Moses. But firmly determined not to permit persecution or even slight of the Jews, the happy thought occurred to him to call together a number of Jews from the various provinces from whom he would ascertain whether Judaism does, indeed, make it incumbent upon its adherents to hate and oppress the Christians. The Jews, through their representatives, should decide their own fate.

The edict that was to carry this decision into execution (May 30, 1806) was couched in very harsh terms. Napoleon himself gave the finishing touch to that edict in a moment of depression, it would seem. The first part of the edict suspended for a year the execution of the judgments rendered in favor of the Jewish creditors. The second part ordered the convention of Jewish notables who, among other things, should suggest the means whereby Jews could be induced to follow the arts and useful occupations instead of the objectionable trades to which many of them, father and son, had devoted themselves for several centuries. Thus, for a while at least, one class of Jews was deprived of its equality.

Though the authorities proceeded in the selection of the notables with a certain arbitrariness, their choice was a happy one. The majority of the more than a hundred notables, speaking French, German or Italian, fully realized the greatness and the importance of the task that confronted them. They were expected to defend, in the eyes of all Europe, Judaism that was placed in the prisoner's dock, as it were, and to dispel the blind prejudices against their faith and its adherents—a difficult but grateful task. Among them were men who had already achieved a reputation, such as Berr Isaac Berr, who had labored for the cause of his people with great zeal, his promising son, Michel Berr, who had issued an appeal to princes and peoples to free the Jews from their bondage, and Abraham Furtado, of Bordeaux, the whilom Girondist who had suffered for his political convictions, a noble, farsighted man of Marano descent. A very happy choice also was that of David Sinzheim (1745-1812), rabbi of Strassburg, a man of almost patriarchal character, of moral earnestness, kindly, amiable, well-to-do, and brother-in-law of the wealthy Cerf Berr. The only other rabbi of importance was the Portuguese Abraham Andrade of Saint Esprit. The laity predominated.

The Jewish notables from the French and the German departments came together with anxiety in their hearts. They formed no definite plan since they did not know exactly what the emperor's intentions were. The summons of the minister, addressed to each individual (July 26, 1806), lifted the veil but little. The appointment of Molé, Boland's disciple, as imperial commissioner, together with Portalis and Pasquier, to deal with the assembly officially, was not reassuring. The day before the assembly convened (July 25) there appeared in the official gazette (Moniteur) a long statement dealing with the history of the Jews from their return from Babylonia to the present. The French people were to gain intelligence of the importance of the question which the Jews themselves had to settle. The statement contained a brief description of the independence and dependence of the Jewish people, their victories and defeats, their persecutions during the Middle Ages and the protection which they found, their increase and their destruction, the accusations made against them, the degradations and oppressions to which they were subjected. Jewish history thus received an official seal, as it were; that it was introduced to the world at large under many falsifications and misrepresentations was not to be surprised at. Judaism, too, was expounded officially, and with still greater misrepresentations. The former was based upon the work of Basnage, written a century ago, and the latter upon that of Leon de Modena, rabbi and skeptic who exposed the defects of rabbinic Judaism before the eyes of Christian readers. Two points were given special prominence: the religious separation of the Jews from the rest of the world, and the usury which they practiced to the detriment of the non-Jew, as tolerated, though not prescribed, by the Jewish laws. The Talmud was made particularly responsible for this. The conclusion to which that statement leads is as untrue as it could possibly be: "Do we not see that the Portuguese Jews (who are innocent of usury) pay less heed to the Talmud? Did the distinguished Jews of Germany, the famous Mendelssohn, stand in great awe of the rabbis? Finally, those among us who devote themselves to science, are they pious Jews?" Thus was Talmudic Judaism stigmatized once more, and before the tribunal of Europe, as it were.

On the very day when the Jews were the topic of discussion of Paris, the deputies assembled to decide a question of conscience: Were they to proceed with the election of a president and secretaries on the Sabbath, by written ballots? On this occasion there came to the surface for the first time the different shades of attitude towards rabbinic Judaism, gradations ranging from the statesmanlike Furtado to the rabbis who had spent their lifetime in Talmudic academies. The rabbis and the party of Berr Isaac Berr were decidedly opposed to holding the election on the Sabbath. The less scrupulous party, the politicians, urged, on the contrary, to embrace this opportunity to convince the emperor that Judaism subordinates itself to the governmental laws. The discussions were carried on with vehemence. The amiable Lazare succeeded, however, in calming the agitation and in bringing about a compromise. Those who entertained scruples were to write out their ballots before the Sabbath.

The first Jewish parliament, so to speak, thus assembled in Paris on the Sabbath, in a chamber of the Hotel de Ville, that was decorated with appropriate emblems. The election proceeded under the temporary chairmanship of Rabbi Solomon Lipman, of Colmar, who was paid this compliment by virtue of his age. Only two men were qualified for the presidency: Berr Isaac Berr and Furtado, both of them commanding respect by their personality and position. The former was the choice of the orthodox party, the latter of the political element. Furtado was elected by a vote of 94 to 62, and proceeded to conduct the business of the Assembly with parliamentary tact. The deputies realized the responsibility placed on their shoulders, and proved equal to the task. All were animated by zeal and eagerness for unity. Even the German rabbis, who hitherto had spent their time in the seclusion of the school-house, behind Talmudic folios, quickly adapted themselves to the new situation and to parliamentary forms. The deputies were deeply stirred by the speech of Lipman Cerf Berr, particularly at the words: "Let us forget whence we come! Let us hear no more of Alsatian Jews, no more of Portuguese. Scattered through the world, we are, nevertheless, one people who worship the same God, and, in accordance with the precepts of our faith, are subject to the power under whose laws we live." They were also carried away by an excessive admiration of Napoleon which they could not find words enough to express. When the officer in charge of the guard of honor placed before the meeting-hall approached the newly-elected president to receive his orders, or when the guard presented arms and beat the drums when the notables left the hall, the deputies felt uplifted, and the fears which they entertained at first were changed into hope. This hope inspired them with the courage to resist the attacks made upon them by hostile writers.

The Jewish deputies from Italy arrived later. The most prominent among them was Abraham Vita di Cologna (1755-1832). A man of both rabbinic and secular education, and of fine appearance and ready eloquence, he was elected, as the rabbi of Mantua, to the parliament of the kingdom of Italy. Cologna leaned towards the new tendency that aimed at forcing Judaism out of its seclusion and at giving it a European impress, as it were; but he was equally uncertain as to the means and the ends of this tendency. Among the other prominent Italian deputies were: Joshua Benzion Segre (b. ab. 1720, d. 1809), land-owner, rabbi and municipal councillor of Vercelli, who was also a follower of the new tendency, and the cabalist Graziadio (Hananel) Nepi, physician and rabbi of Cinto (1760-1836), who was the author of a biographical dictionary of Jewish writers (Toledot Gedole Israel, Triest, 1853).

At the second session (July 29) the three imperial commissioners solemnly delivered twelve questions the Assembly was to answer conscientiously. The principal point was whether the French Jews regarded France as their fatherland, the French as their brethren, and the laws of the state as obligatory upon them also; and, as a corollary, the trenchant third question: "Does the Jewish Law permit intermarriage with Christians?"; and finally whether the loaning of money at usury to non-Jews is permitted or prohibited. The other points with reference to polygamy, divorce and the position of the rabbis, were of secondary importance. The majority of the members could not help feeling aggrieved at the fact that their patriotism and loyalty to France was still questioned, although Jews had attested to that with their blood on the battlefield. When this question was read many voices called out aloud: "Till death." The reply to these questions was assigned to a commission consisting of the president, the secretaries and the scrutators, four distinguished rabbis; Sinzheim, Andrade, di Cologna and Segre, and two laymen: Isaac Berr and Lazare.

This commission entrusted the principal work to Rabbi David Sinzheim, the most learned and most respected member of the Assembly, who finished it, in a very short time, to the satisfaction of the deputies as well as of the commissioners, and finally of the emperor (July 30-Aug. 3). The great task assigned to the Jewish deputies filled them, indeed, with a consciousness of superiority, raised them above the common level. Co-operation inspired them; the speeches delivered intoxicated them.

At the third session (Aug. 4), in which the reply to the twelve questions was to be discussed, the deputies were already animated by a spirit of self-confidence. The first two questions: whether the Jewish law permits the practice of polygamy, and whether a divorce in accordance with the French law is recognized also by the Jewish religion, presented no difficulties. But the third question, that of intermarriage, provoked a passionate agitation, and revealed the antagonistic principles that developed in Judaism since the days of Mendelssohn. The notables who had already become estranged from the older form of Judaism did not hesitate to answer that question in a wholehearted affirmative. But the German rabbis, the aged Solomon Lipman, and the cabalistically minded and scholarly Nepi, scrupled greatly at this question which is so vital to Judaism; though they, too, felt that it would be extremely hazardous to give an absolutely negative answer. The commission, however, had answered it skillfully beforehand. It was cleverly prefaced by the statement that the Bible prohibited intermarriage only with the Canaanitish nations. Even the Talmud permits intermarriage inasmuch as it, too, does not regard the European nations as idolators. The rabbis would, of course, oppose such a union, since they could not use the prescribed ceremony at such a marriage, and would accordingly hesitate to bless such a marriage, just as the Catholic priests would under similar circumstances. But this refusal has no further effect, since the state recognizes civil marriages. At all events, even the rabbis admit a Jew or a Jewess who intermarries to full religious fellowship.

The other questions were disposed of without excitement in two sessions (Aug. 7 and 12). In replying to the question whether the Jews regarded the French as their brothers and France as their fatherland, the assembly could refer to Judaism which, in its three phases—Biblical, Talmudical, Rabbinical—has looked upon the love of humanity and human brotherhood as its cardinal principle. The Assembly was also in a position to refute all the stupid prejudices or the calumnies of their antagonists to the effect that Judaism preaches hatred of Christianity. In replying to the two questions concerning usury, the Assembly was likewise able to remove a deep-seated prejudice and to present Judaism in a favorable light.

Upon examining the answers, the emperor confidentially transmitted through the commission to Sinzheim and several other deputies the assurance that he cherished the most gracious opinion of the followers of the Jewish religion, and that he would in no respect deprive them of the rights of French citizenship. The admiration which Napoleon had formerly entertained for this living memorial of the most ancient people and most ancient civilization, reasserted itself as a result of the attitude of the Jewish parliament, and gained the mastery over the contempt which had been instilled into him. Molé's address to the Assembly was entirely different in tone from his former addresses: "Who would not indeed be struck with astonishment at the sight of this Assembly of enlightened men, selected from the descendants of the most ancient people? If a person who lived in the vanished centuries were to arise from his grave and behold this scene, would he not believe himself transplanted within the walls of the Holy City, or would he not think that a revolution had changed human affairs to their very foundation? . . . His majesty guarantees you the free exercise of your religion, the full enjoyment of your political rights; but in return for this great favor, he demands a religious guarantee that the principles expressed in your replies will be carried into complete execution."

What was the nature of this guarantee to be? Napoleon suggested a surprising idea that filled the Assembly with joyous astonishment and electrified it: "The emperor proposes to convene the Great Sanhedrin!" This body, which perished simultaneously with the Temple, and which alone had been invested with authority in Israel, was to be revived, and transform the answers of the Assembly into decisions which, like those of the Talmud, would be regarded as authoritative by the Jews of all lands and of all time. The Sanhedrin is to revive the true spirit of the Law, interpret the laws of Judaism in harmony with the spirit of the age; repeal the false and the doubtful, and, besides, create a new organization." The Assembly was to inform all the synagogs of Europe of the convening of the Great Sanhedrin that they might send to Paris deputies who would be capable of giving the government additional information, and of entering into communication with the Assembly. That this revived Sanhedrin might receive the venerable character hallowed by history, it was to follow its ancient model faithfully, and be composed of seventy-one members, with a president (Nasi) and a first assessor (Ab-beth-din) and second assessor (Chacham). Upon hearing this address the deputies felt as though they beheld the pristine glory of Israel suddenly arising from its tomb, and taking definite shape. Of course, the Assembly was not wanting in enthusiastic exclamations and resolutions. It gave its approval to everything that the Commission proposed or even intimated. Rabbis were to constitute two-thirds of the members of the Sanhedrin, and laymen one-third.

Accordingly, on the eve of its dissolution, the Assembly of the Notables issued a call to all Jewry (October 6), to arouse their enthusiasm for the Sanhedrin that was about to convene, and to induce them to send deputies. This call was issued in four languages (Hebrew, French, German and Italian), and read: "A great event is about to take place. What our fathers in the long course of the centuries, what we in our days could not hope to see, is to reappear before the eyes of an astonished world. The 20th of October is the day appointed for the opening of a Great Sanhedrin in the capital of one of the mightiest Christian empires, and under the protection of the immortal prince who rules over it. Paris will then present this spectacle to the world, and this eternally memorable event will open an epoch of redemption and of happiness for the scattered remnant of Abraham's descendants . . ."

The Jewish parliament and the resultant revival of a Sanhedrin excited, indeed, a great deal of attention in Europe. To Napoleon's warlike exploits and splendid victories the world was accustomed. But the revival of a Sanhedrin was something new and unheard of. The enlightened faction of Berlin, the circle of David Friedländer, experienced an uncomfortable feeling at the thought that out of France, and through the medium of the Sanhedrin, there might come forth a regeneration of Judaism, ancient in character but new in spirit. They therefore characterized beforehand the Sanhedrin as a farce which Napoleon wished to arrange for the amusement of his Parisians. Patriotism also contributed to this feeling of uneasiness. The Prussian Jews shared in the deep grief which had come upon the Prussian people and kingdom as a result of the defeat at Jena and Auerstädt. The victorious French army entered Berlin in triumph, and all North-Germany to the North Sea and the Baltic, and to the Vistula, was at the mercy of the conqueror. The victor penetrated even further into the East, into the so-called South-Prussian provinces (region of Posen and Warsaw). In the winter campaigns which were extraordinarily difficult and exhausting in that rough region, the French soldiers received material aid from the Jews who, like the Poles, welcomed the French as liberators. Napoleon regarded this officiousness towards him and his army as the result of the Sanhedrin convened by him.

While the emperor was engaged in his winter campaign against the Prussians and their Russian allies, the Assembly of the Notables concluded its sessions, and the Sanhedrin began its deliberations. Before the latter body convened, the Notables were called into consultation about the scheme of a consistorial government. At the head of French Jewry of all provinces there was to be a central consistory with a chief rabbi, a centralization modelled after the imperial system, whose duty it would be to supervise the individual consistories, rabbis, synagogs and communities. These, again, were to exercise police powers over the individual Jews, see to it that the decisions of the Sanhedrin approved by the emperor are obeyed, and particularly that the Jewish communal authorities furnish the required number of Jewish conscripts every year. In vain did the minority of the Notables protest against the dishonor involved in imposing police duties upon the rabbis, and the disgrace which would thereby accrue to the Jews. Out of fear, the majority accepted this proposition.

Four days after the final adjournment of the Assembly of the Notables (Feb. 9, 1807), the Great Sanhedrin that bore an entirely different character opened its sessions. As indicated above, two-thirds of its membership was composed of rabbis, for the most part of those who had participated in the Assembly of the Notables. The minister of the interior appointed only the first three dignitaries: Sinzheim as president (Nasi), the aged Segre as first assessor (Ab-beth-din), and Abraham di Cologna as second assessor (Chacham). The opening of the Sanhedrin took place amidst great solemnity. The members proceeded from the president's house to the synagog which was decorated in honor of the occasion, and filled with a distinguished audience. It is self-evident that enthusiastic addresses were delivered on that occasion. The Hebrew sermon delivered by Sinzheim could, indeed, make but little impression, but when he blessed the audience with the scrolls of the Torah in his arms and, with the dignity peculiar to him, pleaded for enlightenment and offered a prayer, the spectators felt deeply stirred. Di Cologna's Italian address intensified this feeling and left, on the whole, a very deep impression.

From the synagog the Assembly proceeded to the decorated chamber in the Hotel de Ville, assigned to the Sanhedrin, and the seventy members, according to seniority, seated themselves in the form of a crescent about the president, after the ancient custom. As the sessions were public, they attracted many spectators. The members of the Sanhedrin were appropriately clad in a black garb with a silken mantle, and wore a three-cornered hat. The activity of the Sanhedrin was confined to transforming the answers of the Assembly into valid, inviolable laws. The Sanhedrin was to serve as authority and as surety that the French, German and Italian Jews of France were serious in their assurance of loyalty to the fatherland and of obedience to its laws. In this connection, the Sanhedrin unhesitatingly adopted the destructive view which Furtado expressed to the effect that Judaism was composed of two entirely distinct elements: the purely religious and the politico-legal provisions. The former were immutable; the latter, which had lost their significance since the destruction of the Jewish state, could, on the contrary, be supplanted by other laws. Such changes, however, could be made not by the pleasure of the individuals, but solely by an authoritative assembly, a Great Sanhedrin. The Sanhedrin also adopted without opposition the views of the Notables on the question of intermarriage to the effect that civil marriages must precede the religious ceremony, and that marriages between Jews and Christians are binding; and although such marriages could not be invested with religious forms, they involved no exclusion from religious fellowship. Inasmuch as the Sanhedrin was not an executive body, its sessions were employed in the delivery of addresses. The French government thus obtained, through the Sanhedrin, the surety it required from the Jews before their equality was to be determined anew.

Upon the motion of the commissioners the Sanhedrin dissolved, and its decisions were to be submitted to Napoleon who, however, had meanwhile been busily engaged with the Prussian-Russian war, until the decisive battle of Friedland brought about the false peace of Tilsit. During Napoleon's absence, secret intrigues were set on foot to restrict the rights of the French Jews. But the Jewish representatives got wind of it, and the indefatigable Furtado, together with Maurice Levy, of Nancy, hurriedly traveled from the Seine to the Nieman in order to acquaint the emperor with the agitation against the Jews. Napoleon promised them a favorable decision and they returned full of hope. After the lapse of a year, Napoleon announced to the Jews his legislative will. He gave his approval (March 17, 1808) to the questionable consistorial organization that reduced the representatives of the synagog to the level of policemen, and regulated the civil position of the Jews, or rather encroached upon the rights they had formerly enjoyed. He had deceived the entire world. Why should he keep faith with the Jews? The law issued by him made no mention of equal rights, but, on the contrary, imposed restrictions. No French Jew was henceforth to engage in any business without a permit from the prefect. Contracts entered into by Jews, who could produce no such permit are to be null and void. The taking of pledges as security for a loan was also restricted in the medieval spirit. Moreover, no foreign Jew was to settle in the German departments and a Jew residing in those departments was not to be permitted to settle in other departments. Finally, the Jewish population was to offer no substitute for military service, but every conscript was to join the ranks. These restrictions were to be in force for a period of ten years, "in the expectation that at the expiration of that period and through the operation of various measures, there will be no distinction between Jews and the other citizens of the state."

The French Jews, the anchor of hope of their brethren in other countries, were thus oppressed once more, and placed under exceptional laws. Only the Jews of Bordeaux and of several other departments that had given no occasion for complaint were exempted from these restrictions. Upon their urgent expostulations, however, these restrictions were gradually removed from the Jews of Paris, Leghorn, the department of the Lower-Pyrenees and of fifteen other districts of France and Italy, so that in reality only the German-speaking Jews of France and of the Rhine district were deprived of their equality. Nevertheless, the odium thus cast again upon the Jews clung even to those members of the race who enjoyed equal rights. Their enemies who displayed such great zeal in hampering the advancement of the Jews could point to France in proof that that race is incorrigible after all, since its sons had to be deprived of their equality even in a country where they had been emancipated for a considerable length of time.

However, Napoleon's arm, strong as it might be, was unable to stem the tide which the liberation of the oppressed peoples and classes once set in motion. He only increased its onrush by his own impetuosity. After the humiliation of Prussia, he created the kingdom of Westphalia, under the rule of his brother, Jerome. In this kingdom, a patchwork of seignorial lands, the Jews actually achieved freedom and equality. Napoleon himself drew up the constitution for this kingdom, in conjunction with the statesmen, Beugnot, Johannes von Müller, and in part also with Dohm, all of whom were friends of the Jews, and the equality of the Jews was incorporated into the fundamental constitution. Jerome, more honest and just than his brother, declared in an edict (Jan. 12, 1808) all the Jews of his state without exception as citizens possessing all civil and political rights, completely abolished the special Jewish taxes, granted temporary residence in his country to foreign Jews under the same conditions as Christian foreigners, and threatened to punish all those who would designate the Jewish citizens of his states with the opprobrious epithet: "Schutzjude." Michel Berr, the courageous and devoted defender of Judaism, was called from France to occupy a position of honor in the kingdom of Westphalia. The German University of Göttingen, which was hostile to the Jews, elected him to membership.

Israel Jacobson (1769-1828), formerly the court agent and financial adviser to the Duke of Brunswick, played an important part in the new court of Cassel. Noble-minded, self-sacrificing, and energetic, he pursued the sole aim of removing from the Jews and Judaism their ugly, deforming surface, and to invest them instead with an appearance of splendor. In Seesen he had established a school at his own expense for the education of Jewish children, to which Christian children were also admitted free of charge. Through Jacobson's efforts the Jews of the Kingdom of Westphalia were granted a consistorial organization modeled after that of France, and promulgated simultaneously with it (March 3, 1808). But while the French system was presided over by a rabbi, in Westphalia the layman Jacobson was to be the head. His vanity prompted him to play the rabbi, too. Jerome received the members of the consistory in audiences and uttered on that occasion the memorable words that he rejoiced that the constitution of his kingdom reflected his inmost desires with respect to the equality of all religions. The consistory was also to bring about an awakening of patriotic feelings for the house of Bonaparte in the hearts of old and young. But while the central consistory of France contained such discreet and tried men as David Sinzheim, Abraham di Cologna and Menahem Deutz, who had already given proof of their moderation and who proceeded gently with the transition from the old to the new, the Westphalian consistory was dominated by Jacobson, who delighted in reckless innovations. With reference to the changes to be effected in the character of the community and the synagog within the sphere of his activity, he consulted David Friedländer, who stood with one foot in Christianity.

Jacobson was intent upon reforms or rather upon the introduction of such forms in the Jewish worship that were in vogue in the Christian church, and, on the whole, cared only for show. His despotic nature and authority carried through the innovations which offended the sensibilities and the scruples of the rabbis as well as of the masses. To be sure, this reckless violence was necessary in order to do away with the chaos that prevailed in the small communities in particular. Nothing could have been accomplished with gentle measures.

The Westphalian communities were divided into seven parishes, each under the control of a rabbi and several syndics (directors); in the larger parishes assistant rabbis also were appointed. These rabbis were reduced to mere helpless tools in the hands of the president. Like the French rabbis, they were to hold up military service as a sacred duty, and, in a measure, to levy recruits or, at any rate, to report those who would shirk their military duty. The sermons were to be delivered in the German language and the rabbis were obliged to submit their sermons to the judgment of the consistory, that is, of Jacobson, at least once every six months. The statute or rather Jacobson imposed upon the rabbis the further duty of arranging theatrical confirmations of the Jewish youth. The enthusiasm for the liberty which they had attained prompted the Jewish young men who were liable to military service to present themselves for enrollment in the army in full number. "We are enjoying civil rights," most of them said, "why should we not joyously serve as defenders of the fatherland?" In one part of Germany, the timid Jewish youths were thus transformed, almost over night, into courageous men. To be sure, they were, like their Christian fellow-soldiers, not defenders of the fatherland, but mere tools employed to satisfy the despotic ambition of the one man who prescribed laws for Europe and suppressed freedom.

The first German prince who voluntarily conferred at least a limited freedom upon the Jews was Duke Charles Frederick of Baden. Living close to the French border, he had already become accustomed to recognize Jews as citizens. Nevertheless, he declared the Jews of his states only denizens, and such only in the places where they had lived hitherto; but they were not permitted to settle in cities where there were no Jews up to that time. Their religious peculiarities were to be respected, but only when practiced "in conformity with the Mosaic law, not in conformity with the Talmudic interpretation." Later on, the Count of Sternau, who favored the Jews, drew up a special constitution for the Jews at the request of the Duke; but even this constitution was full of defects. For the administration of the religious affairs of the Jews, the duke appointed a supreme council, consisting of a director-in-chief, two or three rabbis and two councillors. The supreme council had to appoint the local rabbis and elders.

The City of Frankfort also succumbed for a moment to the hysteria of equality, although in that city the pedantic, sordid Jew-hatred found its embodiment in every patrician. Up to that time every newly-admitted Jew had to take an oath of allegiance to the Senate, and all the medieval restrictions and degradations were still in force. They were still obliged to dwell in the narrow, dirty, unhealthy Jewish quarter, and every Christian, however degraded, had the right to call to the most refined Jew, "Mach Mores, Jud," and to banish him from the better parts of the city and the promenades. But when the Holy German-Roman empire melted ridiculously like a snow-flake at the breath of Napoleon's mouth, and Frankfort came under the dominion of the arch-chancellor or prince-primate of the Rhine Confederation, and the high and mighty patricians became subjects in their turn, the bondage of the Jews came to an end in fact, although this change in their condition did not receive a legal form. The primate, Karl von Dalberg, a man of liberal views, formerly a member of the Order of the Illuminati, entertained the most kindly sentiments toward the Jews and would gladly have broken their yoke entirely. But he knew too well the stubborn Jew-hatred of the Frankfort patricians to venture to emancipate the Jews all at once. At his so-called accession to the throne, he merely promised in general terms that the Jews would be protected against insult and humiliating treatment. In issuing a new order for the stability and protection of Jewry (Nov. 30, 1807), he made a concession, on the one hand, to the new tendency by stating "that the former laws being out of accord with the spirit of the age and with the present point of view of the Jewish nation, must be repealed. On the other hand, he countenanced the hatred of the Jews when he added "that the Jews could not be granted complete emancipation so long as they did not divest themselves of their peculiar character, and prove themselves worthy of it by adopting the customs of the land." In consequence of this law, the Jews were really regarded as mere aliens on sufferance, with the difference that the protection money which they were required to pay under various names was transformed into an annual tax of twenty-two thousand guldens. They were even given to understand that there was a possibility of their being shut up in the ghetto once more; they were ordered to renew by no means the leases they had obtained in the city from Christian landlords under French dominion, because the glorious day was soon coming when they would be compelled to return to their prison.

The Jews of Frankfort therefore exerted every effort to extricate themselves from this anomalous condition, and to be placed on equal footing with their brethren of the neighborhood, the kingdom of Westphalia. Hence, when the Rhine Confederation was dissolved and the Duchy of Frankfort, with a constitution of its own, was created, in which the equality of all inhabitants and all various denominations was professed, the representatives of the Jews appealed to the Grand Duke Dalberg and the members of his Council to establish their equal rights by a special law, beyond all attack. As the new Grand Duke was in financial embarrassment, and as the freedom and equality of the Jews met with his own wishes, he granted their petition for the sum of four hundred and forty thousand guldens (twenty times the amount of the annual tax of twenty-two thousand guldens), payable in installments, and issued a law (Dec. 28, 1811), conferring full rights of citizenship upon the Jews of Frankfort and those who stood under his protection. The Jews took the civil oath and entered upon their rights and duties, and Louis Baruch (Börne), as a Jew, was given a place on the grand-ducal police. The Judengasse (ghetto) lost its sad prerogative, was abolished or assigned to the adjoining quarters of the city.

The northern Hanse towns, where German illiberality, combined with narrow Lutheranism, hardly permitted the Jews to breathe, had to grant them equality upon the command of the French garrison. Hamburg acquiesced most readily in placing all inhabitants, thus including the Jews, on an equal footing (1811), and admitted Jews to the city council. But the little town of Lübeck submitted rather impatiently to the settlement and emancipation of the few Jews under the protection of the French. Hitherto only about ten families were tolerated in that city as Schutzjuden who were permitted neither to engage in commerce, nor join the guilds, nor acquire real estate. From the neighboring townlet of Moisling, which was under Danish or Holsteinian dominion, only three Jews were permitted to come to Lübeck daily, and these had to pay a sort of a poll-tax. Under the French dominion (1811-14) about fifty Jewish persons moved from Moisling to Lübeck, so that the latter city contained about sixty-six families. The enfranchisement of these sixty-six roused the spleen of the patricians of Lübeck, almost more so than did their subjection by Napoleon.

In the Hanse town of Bremen, also, that knew Jews only as traveling poll-tax payers, Jews settled under French protection, and were placed on an equal footing with other citizens. Even Frederick Francis, the Duke of Mecklenburg, enfranchised the Jews (Feb. 22, 1812), and even permitted intermarriage between Jews and Christians—a step which no other legislation had as yet ventured to take. Even Prussia could no longer escape the general tendency that was so favorable to the Jews. During the period of her misfortune, the Jews of that country displayed almost a greater patriotism and brought more sacrifices than many a degenerate noble who fraternized with their victorious enemies. But it took a long time before King Frederick William III could overcome the anti-Jewish prejudices that had been instilled into him. He did, indeed, remove from them the opprobrious name of "protected Jews" (Schutzjuden), and declared them admissible to burghership. They were also required to take the civic oath as local citizens or as subjects of the state, and to help carry the burdens as such, but they were not recognized as citizens of the state after all—just the reverse of the case in Baden. They were, it is true, constantly promised complete emancipation, but this promise remained unfulfilled for several years. When Hardenberg took over once more the disorganized affairs of the state, and insisted upon the removal of antiquated conditions and laws, he was decidedly in favor of the emancipation of the Jews so that the crippled, bleeding and impoverished little state might gain an accession of new strength through the close connection of the Jews with the public welfare. David Friedländer and his friends, the Berlin capitalists, made every exertion to see the realization of the equality which was ever held out in prospect. But it was only after a long delay that Frederick William gave his approval (March 11, 1812) to placing "all the Jews then present and resident in the Prussian lands on an equal footing with the Christian inhabitants." They were to be admitted also to academic posts and to school and communal offices; their admission to state offices, however, the king reserved to himself. With its rights they must also accept the duties of citizenship, particularly of military service. Their religious affairs were to be regulated later on. "In drawing up the laws relating to the cult, Jews who enjoy public confidence by virtue of their learning and their probity are to be invited to participate."

But three German princes, those of Bavaria, Austria and Saxony, withstood the influence of the spirit of the age. Maximilian Joseph, installed by Napoleon as the first king of Bavaria, it is true, issued an edict (June 18, 1813) that seemingly conferred equality upon the Jews, or at least upon those who had received the right of residence. But this right was subject to many restrictions. In Austria Leopold II and Francis I, the successors of Emperor Joseph, who was the first to loosen a few links of the chain, failed to carry out his benevolent intentions, and even imposed new restrictions. In addition, the almost unbearable burden of taxes which the communities of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Galicia had to carry under the most revolting form, here as a candle tax, there as a wine and meat tax, every Jew who came to Vienna was required to pay a special toll. Police spies lay in wait for every Jew tarrying for a while in Vienna who was not provided with a registration certificate, and treated him like a criminal. The marrying of Jews remained restricted, and was granted only to the oldest son of the family.

Though trampled upon so often by the soldiers of liberty, Austria surrounded herself as though by a Chinese wall, and excluded all innovations. In the newly-created kingdom of Saxony all the restrictions from the days of the electoral government and the Lutheran churchliness, remained in force without moderation. Saxony was justly called the Protestant Spain, as far as the Jews were concerned. They were really not to be tolerated at all in the country, and several privileged Jews were admitted only in the two large cities of Dresden and Leipsic, and only on the express condition that they were subject to expulsion at any time. They were not permitted to have synagogs, but merely rooms for prayers.

* In consequence of the partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795) the vast majority of the Jews of Europe came under the dominion of Russia, and the question of their treatment occupied the serious attention of the Czars. For a while it looked, indeed, as though a happy day had dawned for the new subjects of the mighty eastern empire. Catherine II (1762-96), a disciple of the French Encylopedist, was, on the whole, favorably inclined towards the Jews. She permitted them to settle in the interior, become members of guilds, occupy municipal offices and magistracies, and protected them, when possible, against the oppressions of the local authorities. While she denied them the right to reside in Holy Moscow, at the urgent request of the merchants of that city, she permitted them, on the other hand, to settle in Crimea and New Russia which she had acquired, though in the latter provinces the officials drained them dry by their

extortions. Catherine's successor, Paul I (1796-1801), was also well disposed towards the Jews, despite his tyrannical and choleric nature. This was due in part to the report submitted to the Czar, at the imperial command (1800), by Senator Derzhavin, who was famous as a poet, and who, for the first time in Russia, recommended the establishment of schools for Jewish children in accordance with the plan of instruction generally in vogue. Derzhavin was guided in this suggestion by Nathan Notkin, a Russian Jew who had imbibed the Mendelssohnian spirit. He further proposed the establishment of a Sanhedrin that should have charge of all Jewish affairs. None of these recommendations, of course, were carried into effect. Paul continuously refused to accede to the requests of the local authorities to expel the Jews from Kiev, Kamenetz-Podolsk and Kovno, and even granted the Jews civil rights in Courland.

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* As the author dealt in too general terms with this period of Russian-Jewish history, I followed Philippson's Neueste Geschichte des Judischen Folkes, Vol. I, pp. 72-76, in the following seven paragraphs.—*Tr.*

Upon Paul's assassination, Alexander I (1801-1825) ascended the throne, filled with liberal ideas and intentions which were to redound to the benefit of the Jews also. In the first place, he put a stop, by means of strict orders, to the financial oppression of the Jews on the part of the officials, and to their mistreatment at the hands of the populace. Still more important was the appointment of a commission for the improvement of the condition of the Jews under the presidency of Derzhavin, who was then Minister of Justice (December 9, 1802). The recommendations of this commission resulted in the "Enactment concerning the Jews" of December 9, 1804, that permitted the Jews to buy and to lease land in all the western and southern provinces, to attend all public schools and universities and to be eligible to honorary academic degrees; to visit on business all provinces of the empire, even where they were not permitted to settle, on condition that they dress like the Christian merchants, and employ the Russian language. Their position before the law and the courts was to be the same as that of the Christians. They freely elected the elders of their communities, and sent representatives to the municipal corporations. They were even promised complete emancipation in the future if they proved themselves energetic in the pursuit of agriculture and handicrafts.

It was, in fact, Alexander's aim to spread modern culture among the Jews, to bring them as close as possible to the Russian nation, to inspire them with an inclination for agriculture and handicraft, and to emancipate them completely afterwards. He even supported these efforts by public funds. And yet this benevolent plan miscarried and the promising prospects vanished through the fault of the officials as well as, unfortunately, of the Jews themselves. The Russian Tchinovniks neither understood nor sympathized with the Jews; they did not possess the patience to proceed slowly and with kindness in regaining the confidence of the mass of Jews who had been separated and estranged from the Russian nations for centuries. They proceeded roughly and violently, and used every means to drive the Jews to baptism as the simplest and surest road to assimilation. The Jews, again, filled with fanaticism and obscurantism, regarding the Christians as their inveterate and irreconcilable enemies, looked upon every attempt at secular education as the first step to apostasy. The sect of the Hasidim which spread so rapidly among them since the middle of the eighteenth century was particularly opposed to all secular knowledge. The conduct of the officials must have strengthened their suspicion of the intentions of the government; they were now convinced that the government aimed solely at their conversion to Christianity, and they opposed every governmental scheme with tenacious persistence and passive resistance. The reform movement was thus arrested, and the governing classes of St. Petersburg (Petrograd) consequently came to the conclusion that the Jews were a depraved race, irretrievably estranged from the other subjects and therefore detrimental to the state and the nation. This prejudice grew out of the reform attempts of Alexander I, which began so auspiciously and with such good intentions, and which ended in such miserable failure, and continued ever since, a full century, up to the present day.

This aversion to the Jews was heightened by the patriotic zeal with which a number of Jews participated in the insurrection of Poland against Russia and Prussia under Kosciusko (1794). Jewish volunteers flocked to the standard of Berek Joselovich, an enthusiastic Polish-Jewish patriot, who gained the rank of colonel on the battlefield, and was awarded the Polish military cross. After Kosciusko's defeat and capture, Berek's Jewish regiment heroically defended the walls of Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, against the onslaught of Suvorov, and fell to the last man. Berek alone escaped, fled to France where he was appointed colonel in the army, and met his death on the battlefield in the campaign against the Austrians (1809).

The Poles, on their part, did not exhibit the least gratitude to the Jews for their heroic patriotism. This lack of appreciation they evinced when they came under the dominion of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which Napoleon created (1807), out of the Polish-Prussian provinces, under the nominal sovereignty of the King of Saxony. The constitution of the new grand-duchy, to be sure, promised the enfranchisement of the Jews; but as early as November 1, 1808, this enfranchisement was postponed for ten years in an edict issued by the King and Grand Duke Frederick August. The Jews were at the same time denied the right to follow several occupations, and the immigration of foreign Jews was restricted. In 1810, a special tax upon Kosher meat was imposed that amounted annually to not less than seven hundred thousand guldens. This tax weighed heavily upon the poor in particular, and made it practically impossible for them to purchase animal food. This tax is still in force, though the pretext thereof, the exemption of Jews from military service, has long since been removed. In this way, Polish intolerance and Saxon narrowness combined to crush the Jews. And despite all this physical and mental wretchedness Polish Jewry produced at that time such men as the Orientalist Salkind Hurwitz, the mathematician and inventor Abraham Stern (1769-1842), and the philosopher Jacob Kalmansohn.

In the provinces of Russian-Poland, too, the Jews found themselves in a deplorable condition; for the greed and the tyranny of the Russian officials reigned supreme in those provinces, notwithstanding the good intentions of Alexander I.

The Province of Livonia, administered by Germans, though under the rule of the Czar, still excluded the Jews as heretofore. This exclusion is to be ascribed to the German authorities rather than to the Russian government. Only in Riga fifteen Jewish families were permitted to live, and fifteen in the little town of Shlock. These were debarred, not only from all public offices, but also from the guilds and thus from all industries, as well as from most branches of commerce, and were compelled in their travels to stop at separate inns. Jewish physicians alone were spared this humiliation.

At least one gratifying event may be recorded of the Russia of that period: the noble intention of Alexander to lead the Jews to agriculture was realized in part. With the assistance of the government, Nahum Finkelstein of Shklov founded seven Jewish agricultural colonies (1808) in the vicinity of Kherson, in southern Russia, which proved very successful. In their leisure hours these diligent farmers and artisans studied the Bible and the Talmud. It is truly wonderful that Finkelstein, without any professional preparation, should have been able to make energetic and skillful farmers out of his coreligionists whose training was of an entirely different sort. These colonies are still in existence and flourish to this day.

Like the Persian Xerxes in the days of old, Napoleon, hitherto invincible, and turned arrogant and brutal by his success, summoned nations and princes in a variegated array to a world-war against Russia, and they followed him obediently as slaves follow their master. It was not his adversary who conquered Napoleon, but a Higher Power which blinded his usually clear eye to the point of childish folly. When God and fortune had forsaken him, the princes turned the point of their swords against him. The force of national feeling which in his reliance upon his military genius he despised so much also rose up against him. Nobody suspected that the misfortune of the great would affect the small, that Napoleon's fall would hurl back into their former servitude the Jews whom he had liberated, however reluctantly. Jewish youths of well-to-do families courageously vied with the Christians to rush into the combat in order to help lay the giant low. In Prussia, in particular, large numbers of Jews, with patriotic ardor, joined the bands of volunteers. Jewish physicians and surgeons gave up their life in camps and hospitals while treating the wounded and infected.

Jewish women and girls spared no efforts and attention in order to bring aid and comfort to the wounded. And everywhere, wherever the citizens flew to arms and joined the flag of their fatherland, the Jews were not behindhand in risking their lives and property. Nevertheless, the seemingly forgotten Jew-hatred gradually reappeared among the Germans, spread ever farther and wider, and deprived the Jews of the prize which the bloody victories had promised them also.

With the fall of the hero there began the reign of petty intriguers, traffickers in peoples and lands; and the Jews were the first to sense the current of the reaction which set in in Germany. The fire of the enemy's cannon had hardly died away in the precincts of Frankfort when several loud voices were heard calling encouragingly one to another to put a stop first of all to the unheard-of presumption of the Jews. As soon as the patricians came to the helm, the laws of equality introduced by the French or grand-ducal reign, were repealed at once and the old order of things was restored (Jan., 1814). Baron von Stein, the virtual master of Frankfort at that time, hated Napoleon thoroughly, and included in his aversion not only the French but also the Jews whom Napoleon liberated, and to whom they had rendered assistance up to that time. Stein, who could have put a stop to the Jew-hatred of Frankfort by one sharp word, gave it free scope and encouraged it. The three German Hanse towns followed Frankfort's example. In Hamburg the situation was the reverse of that of Frankfort. The Senate favored the Jews, and would readily have conferred full citizenship at least upon the wealthy Jews, in the expectation that they would revive the commercial prosperity of the city which had declined in consequence of the French occupation. The common masses, however, were prejudiced against the Jews, and insisted that they be placed under the old restrictions. In Lübeck and Bremen the suggestion of expelling the Jews was seriously entertained. In Hanover, Hildesheim, Brunswick and Hessen, the Jews were likewise deprived of their equality all at once. How much the German reaction outdistanced even that of France! Although the liberty-hating and revengeful nobles and the rabid Catholic clergy held sway at the court of Louis XVIII, and disregarded the events that occurred since 1789 as non-existent, they did not encroach upon the Jewish rights of citizenship. The Catholic Church, to be sure, was recognized as the state religion, and the Jewish consistories were not supported by the state, but the equality of the Jews remained undiminished.

The Jews of Germany and those of the so-called free cities in particular, apprehensive of their freedom, honor—nay, their very existence—therefore lifted up their eyes to the Congress of Vienna that was expected to cure all the ills of Europe. The community of Frankfort sent two deputies to Vienna to present a memorial to the Congress in which were set forth the grounds on which the Jews of Frankfort based their rights: the formal right, inasmuch as they had acquired their equality in due form by the payment of a large sum of money, and the patriotic right, inasmuch as they, too, had participated in the liberation of Germany. Several influential persons worked in conjunction with the deputies, quietly and invisibly behind the scenes. Among these were probably the members of the banking house of Rothschild which had its origin in Frankfort, and had by circumspection and successful financial operations risen into distinction as a money power. Quiet activity was displayed also by the Jewish Baroness Fanny von Arnstein, whose house was frequented by all the members and the diplomats of the Congress of Vienna. The statesmen who controlled the German affairs in the Congress were favorably disposed to the Jews. Hardenberg and Metternich, in a special communication, expressed their displeasure at the disregard of the rights of the Jews in the Hanse towns (1815) and advised the Senate, which was tantamount to a command, to adopt a humane and just policy in the treatment of the Jews.

In the draft of the German constitution prepared by the Prussian plenipotentiary (Wilhelm von Humboldt), which was submitted to Metternich and adopted as the basis of the conference, a clause was inserted that practically conferred equal rights upon the Jews: "The three Christian religious denominations are to enjoy equal rights in all German states, and the adherents of the Jewish faith will be given the same civil rights in so far as they submit to the fulfilment of civic duties."

But the good intentions of the two chancellors, even if the monarchs whom they represented had shared their views, were not sufficient. There arose a new enemy of the Jews, far more dangerous than the professional envy and guild-pride: Teutomania. The scribblers, intoxicated by the victory over the French, lost all sense of proportion, and fell into a sort of frenzy. Everything that did not bear a purely German imprint was despised. The Romantic school, the Schlegels, Arnim and Brentano, painted for the Germans this horrible medieval spectre in such glowing colors that they regarded it, in their infatuation, as an ideal, the realization of which was a sacred duty. To medievalism belonged Christianity, strict religiosity. But only the worshippers of Catholicism, with the papacy as the supreme authority, could be pious in the medieval sense. This was indeed the aim of the honest romanticists, like Görres, Frederick Schlegel and

Adam Müller, who consistently embraced Catholicism and helped restore the empire of the Jesuits and of the inquisition. The morally corrupt Gentz, the Protestant, asserted in all seriousness that Catholicism was the only saving Church that could restore the unity of Germany by the subjection to a pope and an emperor. The Protestant portion of Germany which recoiled at this consistent suggestion fell into all kinds of confusion, and were like persons walking in their sleep with incendiary torches: "The Lord had poured out in their midst a spirit of perverseness, and they reeled like drunkards." (Is. 19:14.)

This fantastically Christian Teutomania was the armed spectre that robbed the German Jews for several decades of their peace, their honor, and their joy of achievement. It took the form of Jew-hatred; and, in order to find some basis for this hatred, the Jew-baiters rummaged in old trash and rubbish, and out of this material drew a horrible picture of the Jew to scare themselves and others. Frederick Rühs, professor of history in the newly established University of Berlin, in a book entitled "Jewish Claims to German Citizenship" (1815), evolved the mischievous theory of the Christian State, and deduced from it the right of humiliating the Jews, of checking their natural increase, if not of expelling them from Germany. The Jews were to be merely a tolerated caste, to have no claim whatever to equal rights, were to pay protection money, special taxes, and to wear badges once more. This degradation was to entice them into the Church. Rühs' work met with favor. German learning, which in the days of Lessing, Abt, Kant and Herder had been the apostolic herald of universal humanity, now spoke the language of the church-fathers and incited to hatred and persecution. They vied in Jew-baiting with ultra-Catholicism. Pius VII, who as a result of the Restoration ruled in the papal states once more and reintroduced the inquisition, deprived the Jews of the freedom which they had enjoyed under the French rule. The Jews of Rome had to vacate their fine houses in all parts of the city and return to the filthy, unsanitary Ghetto. The Middle Ages were reintroduced into the papal states. As in the seventeenth century, the Jews had to listen to sermons intended for their conversion, or pay the penalty. Germany, too, was to witness the restoration of the Middle Ages. History, meanwhile, enacted one of those surprising interludes that was to prove the untenableness of the reactionary Restoration. Napoleon, despite English policing of the sea, landed on French soil. The props of the Bourbon throne—the nobility, clergy and schemers—gave way even before a single shot was fired. The empire of the Hundred Days was restored. All Europe took up arms against a single man. The dice of war, however, decided, at Waterloo, in favor of the allies. In the Prussian army which, next to the English, decided the issue, there were many Jewish soldiers.

What reward did the German Jews receive for their sincere devotion to the Fatherland? The act of the German Confederation contained a paragraph which promised the Jews equal rights and recommended the removal of many obstacles in the way of Jewish emancipation in those countries where this reform was meeting with opposition. But only Prussia and Austria were in favor of this paragraph; the other members of the Confederation, and the free cities in particular, were decidedly opposed to it. To arrive at an agreement, a new, almost meaningless wording was proposed: "The German Diet is to promise the adherents of the Jewish faith the enjoyment of civil rights in return for their acceptance of all civic duties.

Meanwhile they are to retain the rights which had already been conferred upon them in the federal states." But the free cities were suspicious of the last part of the paragraph, since in those cities the Jews were actually in possession of their civil rights which had been conferred upon them by the French government. The envoy from Frankfort therefore protested vigorously against it. Senator Schmidt, the deputy from Bremen, was shrewder; he did not protest, but defeated the purpose of this clause by one master-stroke. With the remark that the rights conferred upon the Jews of North Germany by the French could not be binding upon the Germans, he suggested that the question could be easily settled by merely substituting *by* for *in*. No one paid any attention at first to this seemingly insignificant change of words. The paragraph in the Act of Confederation therefore read: "The adherents of the Jewish faith are to retain the rights which had already been conferred upon them *by* the individual federal states." But among the federal states only Prussia and Mecklenberg, perhaps also Baden, had hitherto enfranchised the Jews, while the majority had not. The enactments of the French authorities were thereby declared null and void. Germany was saved. Metternich and Hardenberg, the leaders in the conferences on the Act of Confederation, suspected so little the perpetrated fraud that, on that very day, they hastened to assure the Jews of the four free cities, through their deputies, that their civil rights had been recognized and guaranteed by the Congress. But the Jew-baiters laughed in their sleeves. They had accomplished their object for the present, and hoped to be in a position in the future to prove the ambiguous promises of Jewish emancipation a mere illusion.

With Napoleon's second fall the titanic tragedy came to an end, and the comedy began. The allied powers overflowed with religion and virtue, but forgot the freedom which they promised. Out of false national pride, false religiosity, out of arrogance, envy, fear and other sinister motives there was born a venomous Jew-hatred that, viewed outwardly, appeared ridiculous, but inwardly gave promise of a bloody catastrophe. Several very evil years for the Jews of Germany ensued. Lübeck ordered more than forty Jewish families to leave the city (Sept., 1815). Bremen followed suit. Frankfort could not, indeed, expel her Jews, but embittered their life, excluded them from many trades and occupations, refused with medieval heartlessness to permit Jewish betrothed couples to marry, and treated them, on the whole, as though they were still their bondsmen. However, as the Senate realized that Prussia and Austria regarded it as a matter of honor to permit no curtailment of the civil rights of the Frankfort Jews, it appealed to the law faculties of Berlin, Marburg, and Giessen to decide the question of honor and humanity as a legal question. The city grown insolent, in whose midst the German Diet was to hold its sessions, believed it could obtain legal warrant for its injustice to the Jews and would have to make not the slightest concession to them. The Frankfort community, however, stood upon its guard likewise. It prepared a memorial for submittal to the Diet (Jan., 1816) which presented the just claims of the Jews in a clear light. This memorial, which was a very able legal and political work, was written by the youthful Börne.

This contest between the Frankfort Senate and the Jews which extended over a period of nine years (1815-24) and which was attended with many annoyances, will forever reflect disgrace upon that period and upon German pedantry. The five professors of jurisprudence of the law-faculty of Berlin decided prevaricatingly that the Jews of Frankfort, in accordance with the "Regulations" of 1616, are, and must remain, subjects or bondsmen of the burghers. A contest about the possession or forfeiture of slaves would possibly have been decided more equitably by these honorable gentlemen. This question, however, involved only Jews. From all parts of Germany many voices were raised at the same time, calling upon the people or the German Confederation to expel or even to destroy the Jews. Newspapers and pamphlets incited the Germans against them, as though the salvation of Germany or Christianity depended only upon the destruction of the Jews. In this disgraceful roar that rang for several years with ever-increasing passion and finally degenerated into brutality, there always mingled grating voices from Frankfort that wished to drown the voice of the conscience of the German people. Frederick Rühs, the professor of history at the University of Berlin, began to agitate against the Jews once more (Jan., 1816) with his false assertions and foolish deductions. He was assisted by Frederick Fries, physician and professor of physics at Heidelberg, who published a book under the title, "The Endangering of the Prosperity and Character of the German People through the Jews," in which he maintained that that caste must be destroyed, root and branch.

An organ of the Austrian government protested in a somewhat threatening manner against the encroachment upon the rights of the Jews on the part of the authorities of Lübeck: "How could the coming German Diet occupy itself with the improvement of the condition of the Jews, when individual states forestall its deliberations by most arbitrary and cruel decisions?" But Austria's moral indignation at the mistreatment of the Jews was far from sincere. Francis I, and Metternich who dominated him, forgot entirely the benevolent intentions of Joseph II, only to recall the odious anti-Jewish laws of Maria Theresa. They not only enforced the old restrictions, but added new ones. They did not, to be sure, expel the Jews, but shut them up in Ghettos once more. The Tyrol, the monastic mountainous country, was of course barred to them as to the Protestants. In Bohemia they were excluded from the mountain towns and villages, and in Moravia, on the contrary, from the two important cities of Brünn and Olmütz, where they were permitted to tarry only a short while. The restrictions of the Austrian Jews became proverbial. The Jews of Galicia were oppressed even more grievously than in the Middle Ages. The emperor Francis, it is true, ennobled a wealthy Jew here and there; the rest, however, were degraded. They were required to render military service, but the bravest among the Jewish soldiers was hardly permitted to reach even the lowest rung of the military ladder.

Austria, it must be admitted, had made no promises to the Jews, and had awakened no hope of freedom. But even Prussia, where the Jews were already in possession of civil rights, reverted to medievalism as far as the Jews were concerned. Frederick William III failed to carry into execution the law which he issued for the emancipation of the Prussian Jews, and that law remained a dead letter. The promised equalization of the Jews of the newly acquired or reconquered provinces was always postponed, and they had to submit to the former restrictions. There were twenty-one different fundamental laws for the treatment of the Jews. They were classified into French, Old-Prussian, Saxon, and Polish Jews, only to their disadvantage, of course. The Jews of the Province of Posen, the pariahs among the Jews of Prussia, were not permitted to buy a house from a Christian, live in rural districts, or acquire any commercial rights, and were subjected to still other restrictions. In the cities where the Jews did not live before, no Jew was to be admitted, as was the case in Austria. Prussia was intent upon rendering the Jews contemptible in social life. While formerly the government scrupulously avoided in official communications the word Jew or Jewish, because it carried an odious connotation, it afterward insisted upon the use of that very designation. The perverseness of the theory of the Christian-German state blinded the eyes of even the right-thinking and the humane.

The spirit of Jew-hatred that prevailed in Prussia is evidenced also by an incident which challenges comparison with France. The unjust Napoleonic law that restricted the rights of the Jews of the German departments with respect to the right of location and commerce for a period of ten years was to become void at the expiration of that period, in case it was not extended. The government of Louis XVIII, though under the control of the ecclesiastic and political Reaction, did not even attempt to continue the restrictions, and the Jews of Alsace were thereby reinstated in their former rights. The same law applied also to the Jews of the left bank of the Rhine, which was adjudged to Prussia or to Rhenish-Prussia and Westphalia. The Prussian government, in taking possession of this former French territory, retained this restriction, and an order in council (March 3, 1818) extended it for an indefinite period. The aversion to the Jews kept on increasing without reason or cause. Rahel von Varnhagen, a gloomy Cassandra, prophesied in advance of the storm that was to descend upon the Jews.

Germany was then in a state of great excitement as a result of Kotzebue's assassination in Mannheim at the hands of Carl Sand (March, 1819), a student overwrought by Christian romanticism, and of the violent measures adopted by the government against the demagogic machinations and the Teutomania which the government itself had formerly encouraged. The Teutomaniacs were longing for a victim on whom to vent their rage; and as they could not get at the governmental authorities, the helpless Jews were selected as the victim. A series of brutal assaults upon them, of several months' duration, ensued. Medievalism, in its grinning aspect, came to life once more, revived by the student and merchant classes.

The first riot, accompanied by the frenzied cry of "Hep-hep!" * occurred in the city of Würzburg (Aug. 2, 1819). The populace broke into the Jewish shops, threw their contents into the streets, and in the riot that followed many persons were injured and several were killed. Were it not for the arrival of the military, the Jews would have been massacred. On the following day, the city authorities, upon the urgent demand of the burghers, were compelled to order the expulsion from the city of about four hundred Jews. Similar scenes were repeated in Bamberg and in nearly all the cities of Franconia. Whenever a Jew appeared, he was greeted with the opprobrious "Hep-hep, Jude verreck" (Jew, drop dead), and maltreated.

A similar scene was soon enacted in Frankfort. It began with the cry of "Hep-hep" and with the breaking of window panes in Jewish houses, and grew into brutality when all Jews were driven from the promenades with scorn and maltreatment. Artisans, day-laborers and clerks, secretly encouraged by their employers, made assaults upon Jewish

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* "Hep-Hep" is supposed to be an abbreviation of "Hierosolyma est perdita."

houses, as in the days of Vincent Fettmilch. The rioters had an eye particularly upon the house of the Rothschilds, whose wealth and political importance were thorns in the flesh of the Christian patricians. Several well-to-do Jews left Frankfort. The members of the German Diet, which had its seat in Frankfort, could not be indifferent to these anti-Jewish riots. The funds of the Diet had been deposited for safe-keeping in Rothschild's coffers. The president, Count von Buol-Schauenstein, called a conference of the members, and it was decided to send for the federal troops from Mainz. Couriers sped in every direction. The Frankfort riots consequently excited attention throughout Europe. But even the presence of the troops did not put a stop to the agitation against the Jews. Several of them sold their houses, and even the Rothschilds thought seriously of turning their back on Frankfort.

Riots occurred also in Darmstadt and Bayreuth; Meiningen expelled its few Jewish inhabitants. In Karlsruhe placards were found one morning (Aug. 18) on the synagog and on the houses of prominent Jews with the legend: "Death and destruction to the Jews." Hamburg followed suit. The Jews were driven from the coffee-houses and the post office with jeers and insults, and the windows of their houses were broken. No Jew dared show himself on the street. In Heidelberg it would have come to bloodshed had not the student body, led by Daub and Thibaut, two professors who were indignant at the outrage, protected the defenceless at the risk of their own lives.

From Germany the spark of Jew-hatred communicated itself even to the capital of Denmark which had conferred civil rights upon its Jews several years before and had never withdrawn them. The government had to declare martial law. The burghers, however, stood by the Jews in the few cities where they lived, and the preachers appealed for tolerance and love. In Germany, however, the religious leaders never raised a protest at the sight of the brutalities that were frequently perpetrated. To give the final medieval touch to this Jew-baiting, a synagog in a small Bavarian town was assaulted, and the scrolls of the Law were brutally torn to pieces. Even in those places where the fist did not strike, the mouth fulminated the "Hep-hep" at every Jew, to the amusement of the spectators. The German governments that protected the Jews did so rather out of fear, because they suspected some demagogic plots behind the Jewish riots. Later on they referred to these outbreaks of violence as the popular will or ill-will against the Jews, as a pretext for denying them civil rights.

In Portugal a motion was introduced in the Cortes at this time to readmit the banished Jews and make atonement for the crime of the past, while in Germany writers and statesmen justified this crime and wished that it could be repeated in the nineteenth century. Everyone's hand was against the Jews; not one spokesman of weight and reputation appeared in their behalf, with power to impose moderation if not silence upon the Jew-baiters; neither the aged Jean Paul (Frederick Richter), though he had a predilection for the Jews, nor the youthful Varnhagen von Ense, though he had married Rahel Levin, who, after all, was included in the vilifications. The behavior of the baptized Jews during the anti-Jewish riots was particularly scandalous. Not one of them, outside of Börne, raised his voice in behalf of the Jews with the indignation which violence against the defenceless must inspire. In a letter to her brother Louis Robert, Rahel von Varnhagen did indeed express her sorrow at these riots; but neither Rahel nor her brother Robert, nor her husband, who usually gave such painstaking attention to every trifle and whose opinion carried weight, protested publicly against these outrages.

The Jews, however, had already literary expedients of their own with which to defend themselves. In Germany alone there were forty Jewish writers, who could address themselves to the German public, and two periodicals. The daily press, too, opened its columns to them now and then. And they entered the lists bravely to refute the charges that were hurled against their coreligionists. The aged David Friedländer also raised his voice once more, but behaved in a ludicrous manner, expressed his astonishment at the existence of Jew-baiting in Germany in the nineteenth century, and, regarding as he did Christianity and the State as the highest ideals, could not at all conceive that these gods were capable of so much baseness. But all these Jewish champions fired only light bullets that hardly grazed the thick-skinned German prejudices against the Jews. For that purpose, sharp-pointed and heavy weapons were required: Whereupon He who guides the destinies of history appointed two avenging angels who scourged the Germans with rods of fire, hurled them down from their imaginary height, and mercilessly exposed their shabbiness. These avenging angels, who conferred more blessings upon the Germans than their guardian angels, were Ludwig Börne and Heinrich Heine. They dispelled the mist of medievalism with which the Germans surrounded themselves in order to shut out the light, and made it possible for the clear light of the sun to shine once more.

In their childish sullenness at the Jews the Teutomaniacs of the stamp of Rühs, Fries and Hundt-Radowsky maintained that Judaism could produce no man of character, no soul endowed with a sense of art; but history gave them the lie at once, and confounded them. Judaism endowed a stanch apostle of freedom with a gift of language recalling that of the prophets and the Roman Catos, who confused all the conceptions of their constitutional law held by the Germans; and, in addition, gave birth to a poet, endowed with a profound sense of art with a combination of genuine poetry and biting irony, who completely upset their rules of art. The varied beauties of flower displayed by the genius of Börne and Heine had their roots in Jewish soil. Not alone their wit was Jewish, but also their craving after truth, their repugnance to all show, their hatred of hypocrisy and their contempt of all sham. The fervor for democracy and freedom that predominated in Börne more than in Heine, and the Spinozistic trenchant power of analysis that predominated in Heine more than in Börne, were peculiarly Jewish with them. They, the enslaved, became liberators, and they freed their enemies from the twofold thraldom of political and social nonage. When still a mere youth, Börne or Löb Baruch (Frankfort, 1786-Paris, 1837) was filled with rage at the thought that the invective "Jew" could be hurled in his face, and he felt instinctively that he would not be spared this ignominy and that his manhood would be challenged. When he once procured a traveler's passport from the Frankfort police, a police clerk inserted therein "Jew from Frankfort." "My blood ran cold. Then I vowed in my heart: 'Only wait! Some day I shall write a passport for the whole lot of you.'" So he narrates.

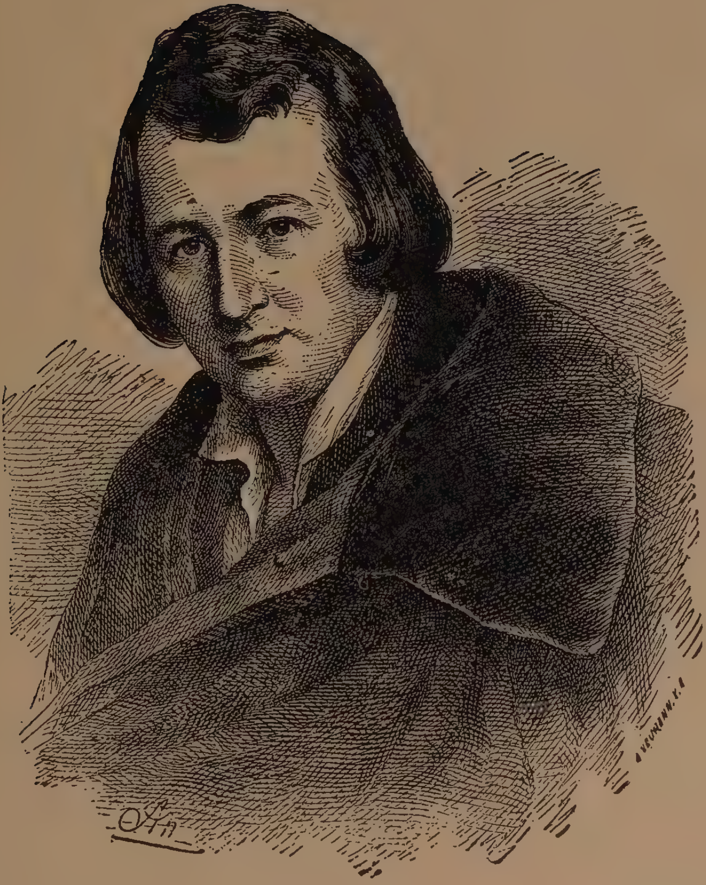
The impudent manner in which the Jews of Frankfort had been cheated out of their trebly chartered freedom aroused a deep indignation within him, and he sharpened his arrow for a combat in behalf of his coreligionists and against the

Frankfort cits who were determined to reintroduce in the nineteenth century "that tale of malice," the regulations of 1616. The feelings that surged within Börne's heart in the years of the ever increasing reaction against the Jews, he puts into the mouth of a Jewish officer in a novel: "You have robbed me of the play of my childhood, ye wicked rascals! You have placed salt in the sweet cup of my youth; ye have placed malicious calumny and silly mockery in the path of my manhood; ye cannot check my progress, but I arrived at the goal weary, listless and without joy. . . . You ask me why I flee my fatherland? I have none; I have as yet not seen foreign parts. Wherever there are dungeons I recognize my home, wherever I find persecution I breathe the air of my childhood. The moon is as near to me as is Germany."

Instead of wreaking vengeance for the wounds which the German Jew-hatred had inflicted upon him and his people, Börne undertook the difficult task of dispelling that hatred by ennobling the German people. He determined to instil into them a sense of freedom, human dignity and self-respect; in a word, to render them mature. In his organ "Die Waage" (Scales) he set up lofty ideals and compared with them the petty circumstances and doings of the Germans. Laughingly he told them truths the like of which they had never heard before. Börne, it is true, withdrew from Judaism and had himself baptized in Offenbach (June 5, 1818); but how little he thought of his Christian faith is indicated by his utterance that "he regretted the christening fee." He was unwilling to cause his arrow to miss its mark through the prejudice that it was shot by a Jewish archer. Germany soon discovered that a writer arose in its midst who reminded one of Lessing, but greater than Lessing because he transplanted art not upon the solitary, icy mountain peaks, but in the plains of life.

Heinrich Heine (Düsseldorf, 1799-Paris, 1854) was, in the depth of his soul, even more of a Jew than was Börne; nay, he possessed all the Jewish excellencies and defects to a high degree. Börne's genius was like a pellucid spring that ripples along on clean pebbles, and foams up only when lashed by storms, Heine's genius was like a whirlpool upon whose surface the sunbeams play iridescently, but which sucks the approaching craft into its boiling depths and dashes it to pieces if it be not of stout construction. Heine was as profound a thinker as he was an artistic poet, as relentless a critic as he was an amiable scoffer, as full of original thought as he was of melody.

For Judaism, or more correctly, for the Jewish race, the history of Jewish martyrdom, and the Sacred Scriptures, he cherished a warm, whole-souled attachment which, however, he could not fathom quite clearly. The hoary antiquity of Judaism, its continual existence that defied time and thousandfold adversities, made a deep impression upon him. At times Heine felt proud to belong to this ancient nobility. It was this feeling that prompted him to write, later on, in his advancing years: "I realize now that the Greeks were only handsome youths, but the Jews were ever men, strong, indomitable men, not only in the past, but to this very day, despite eighteen hundred years of persecution and misery. I have since learned to know and appreciate them better, and were not all pride of birth a foolish contradiction, I could be proud of the circumstance that my ancestors belonged to the noble house of Israel, that I am a descendant of these martyrs who had given the world a God and morality, and had fought and suffered on every battlefield of thought." This



Heinrich Heine

consciousness lay dormant in his soul from his youth. But he did not know what to do with Judaism, what attitude to assume towards it. The circle of Jews that still retained the characteristically Jewish vigor, virtues and morality, repelled him by its unesthetic exterior. His eyes could not see at a glance the beauty that was hidden beneath the ugly surface. The circle of polished Jews, Friedländer, Ben-David, Jacobson, and the rising generation with which he came in contact in Berlin as he entered upon his manhood, had but little sympathy for Judaism, but entertained, on the contrary, a thorough contempt for Jews and Judaism, and a whimsical, romantic predilection for Christianity. But, unlike Börne, Heine was not so wanting in independent judgment as to bend his knee before the ephemeral idols of thought. He did not permit his inclination to Judaism to be destroyed by sophistry. He rather joined the Society for the Advancement of Culture among the Jews, composed of several youths and young men, and took the oath pronounced by its members never to submit to baptism for the sake of a political career.

Heine would have espoused the cause of Judaism with his whole heart, had Judaism itself, that is, its cultivated leaders, combined freshness and charm with the dignity of its high antiquity, its content and its function, and been in a position to gain the respect of the educated world. In his impatience, he wished that Judaism, like the legendary Messiah fettered in Rome, would all of a sudden discard its tatters and its slavish form and transform itself into a richly-clad, vigorous and imperious youth. The process of rejuvenation seemed to him too slow, the means employed for that purpose too petty, and the flirting of the Berlin Jews with the dominant Church altogether apish and discreditable. "We have no longer the strength to wear a beard, to fast, to hate, and out of hatred, to endure. This is the motive of our Reformation." "I, too, have not the strength," he admits frankly, "to wear a beard, and to have smouse hurled at me." His attachment to Judaism expresses itself decidedly in the pardonable hate of the tormentor and scorner of his people, of the arch-enemy that received salvation from Judaism, and imprisoned it and spit upon it in return. Heine's antipathy to the Church was deep and implacable. In palpitating sympathy with the ancient sorrows which the Jews had endured at the hands of the pagan and Christian Rome, he compressed in the word "Edom," a word of boiling rage. Heine hated still more the deserters, the apostates, who turn their back upon their fellow-sufferers, and join the enemy for the sake of personal advantage. Heine never credited a converted Jew with sincere conviction; baptism is either a self-delusion or a lie. Heine gave poetic expression to this hatred in his dramatic poem "Almansor" (completed 1823). As he regarded it inappropriate to introduce Jews on the scene who were to give expression to their sorrow and wrath in glowing verses, he put these sentiments into the mouths of Mohammedans from Granada.

It is a proof of Heine's warm attachment to his race that, even in his sullen mood, he set about earnestly to glorify it. The touching Psalm that a Hebrew poet once sang by Babel's willows, ever ran in his mind:

"Unto my palate cleave
My tongue, and wither my
Right hand, if ever I
Forget Jerusalem!"

In the "Rabbi von Bacharach," he wished to present in vivid colors, such as he alone was capable of, the glorious and tragic scenes of Jewish history. With that object in view, he absorbed himself in the annals of Jewish history in order to paint a faithful picture; his imagination was merely to illumine facts, not to invent them, since there was a plenitude of material at his disposal. Delicately senstive, he did not shrink from rummaging in old musty volumes, and he also found something of value in the dust and rubbish. "The spirit of Jewish history revealed itself to me ever more and more." But while he was earnestly occupying himself with Judaism, displaying enthusiasm for it, and paying the Church no compliments, he had himself baptized (June 28, 1825). Shamefaced like a girl guilty of some indiscretion, he imparted the news of his baptism to his intimate friend, Moser, by innuendo: "A young Spanish Jew, a Jew at heart, who, however, prompted by the arrogance of luxury, had himself baptized, corresponded with the young Judah Abrabanel, and sent him a poem. He was perhaps ashamed to inform his friend frankly of his not very noble action, but he sent him that poem. Do not meditate upon it."

Heine became still more embittered at Christianity in consequence of his conversion, as though Christianity had betrayed him into perfidy, vileness and defection from himself. "I assure you," he wrote, "if the law had permitted the stealing of silver spoons, I would not have submitted to baptism." Börne's one-sidedness in advancing age, ascribed the stirring thoughts of modernity, for which he displayed great enthusiasm, to a regenerated papal Catholicism. Heine's many-sidedness discovered their origin in Judaism. He also entertained a deep appreciation of the Talmud, even at a time when he was at variance with his better nature, by saying that the Jews owed it to the Talmud that they were able to resist Christian Rome as heroically as they once resisted pagan Rome. In advancing age, when a serious nervous affection rendered his mind all the more brilliant, and he came to the realization of the superiority of religious morality over sensuous beauty, Heine's veneration of Judaism reasserted itself. His "Confessions" (1853-54) are ecstatic hymns in honor of Jewish history and the Jewish people. "The Jews should take comfort at the loss of Jerusalem and the Ark of the Covenant; such a loss is insignificant in comparison with the Bible, the indestructible treasure, which they saved. . . . The reawakening of my religious feelings I owe to that sacred book, and that book proved to me both a well of salvation and a subject of fervent admiration. In former days I entertained no special affection for Moses, probably because the Hellenistic spirit predominated in me, and I could not forgive the Jewish legislator his hatred of the plastic and pictorial arts. I did not realize that Moses, despite his hostility to art, was himself a great artist. But his artistic genius, like that of the Egyptians, was directed solely to the colossal and the indestructible. . . . He erected human pyramids, chiselled human obelisks; he took a lowly race of shepherds, and fashioned it into a people that was destined to defy the ages, a great, eternal, holy people, a people of God, that could serve as a model for all nations, a prototype for all humanity—he created Israel. . . . Just as I have not always spoken with sufficient reverence of the master, I have not always appreciated his creation, the Jews." "To the Jews, to whom the world is indebted for its God, it is indebted also for His word, the Bible; they had saved it from the bankruptcy of the Roman Empire, and guarded the priceless book throughout the savage period of the migration of the nations until Protestantism went in quest of it among them, and translated the recovered book in the vernacular, and disseminated it throughout the world." The fundamental conception of Judaism as a revelation of salvation for all mankind, Heine comprehended more correctly and profoundly than many contemporaneous Jews.

The spirit of the Jewish Law and of Jewish history had descended upon this erring son of Israel and inspired him with a revelation which few before him comprehended as deeply, and none presented so luminously. Just as Heine gauged correctly the philosophical depth of the Jewish Law, and the spiritual struggle in the course of the millennia of Jewish history, he appreciated also the true genius of Judah Halevi, the greatest Jewish poet of the Middle Ages, that troubadour who was a brother Jew and a brother artist. With his magic wand he recalls to life the shade of Judah Halevi, and presents him in all the ideality of his vision, and in all the ardor of his enthusiasm.

Throughout his life, Heine was divided between two historic principles of civilization: the chaste morality of Judaism and the beauty of form of Hellenism, both of which he admired, but could not reconcile one to the other. He divined that the harmonious fusion of the two elements would be the task of European civilization, but he was unable to bring about such a harmony within himself. This inner struggle gave rise to his melancholy.

Jewry is greatly indebted to its two faithless sons, Börne and Heine. While they did not eradicate the German hatred of the Jews, they succeeded in checking it. Heine once said at the recollection of the "Hep-Hep" outrages: "Such scenes could never occur again, for the press is a weapon, and there are two Jews who can write German; I am one and Börne is the other." This prophecy was nearly fulfilled. Since the appearance of those two champions, such malicious, violent outbreaks did not soon recur in Germany. The Rühs, Fries and other Jew-baiters who had denied the Jews possession of all higher endowments, could no longer assume such an overbearing tone. But Germany is indebted to these, her severe tutors, even more so than are the Jews. They had scattered a veritable cornucopia of thoughts through Germany, like two kings who, in the course of their travels, distribute gold coins with a liberal hand. They had created for the German Michael an elegant, lucid and polished language, and opened for him the Temple of Freedom. Young Germany that created the present state of culture, and the year of liberation (1848), is an offspring of these two Jews.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS REFORM AND JEWISH SCIENCE

(1818-1840)

Judaism was unable to cast off its servitude as quickly as the Jews did. For nearly two thousand years it had to contend for its existence with every new people and every new spirit that appeared on the scene of history, with Greeks and Romans, Parthians and Neo-Persians, Goths and Slavs, Arabs and Medieval men of iron, with monks of all orders and fanatic Lutherans. Constantly engaged in desperate combat, how could it help being covered with disfiguring scars and dust? To protect itself against the onslaughts of so many hostile forces, Judaism had to surround itself with an impenetrable coat of mail, isolate itself on all sides, or withdraw within a narrow space; and it became so accustomed to this heavy armor that it seemed part and parcel of itself. Thrown back upon its own resources, and repelled by the outside world, especially since the centuries when its adherents were expelled from Western Europe, it wrapped itself up in a dream-world of its own, and in its thought and imagination adopted magic formulas to enable its followers to deaden, ease or forget the torments which they had to endure. All of a sudden, its sons were awakened from their dream by a piercing sunbeam, and beheld a reality that stared at them in a strange fashion. At first they shut their eyes tight, so as not to lose the pleasant vision. At first they did not dare feel quite at home in the new era and under the new conditions, and feared that that change was only an enticement, or a new sort of attack which the old enemy had devised against Judaism under a different guise. It had forgotten that in the course of its long journey through the world, and its contact with the nations, its isolation notwithstanding, it had adopted perverse notions which had become so incorporated in its nature and even received new development, as though they were original with and peculiar to it. Its memory became enfeebled in consequence of the persecutions and torments, its intellectual power also became somewhat impaired as a result of its sufferings that increased from day to day. At first, it could not collect itself, could not bring itself to distinguish and to separate the foreign and the incongruous from the original and the essential. Among the German Jews, under the influence of uncivilized Polish characteristics, Judaism assumed a barbaric tinge, and among the Portuguese and Italian Jews, under the influence of Isaac Luria and Hayyim Vital, a cabalistic impress. These defects manifested themselves most glaringly in connection with divine worship, preaching, weddings, and funerals; in a word, on the most conspicuous occasions. The very official representatives and interpreters of Judaism, the rabbis and guardians of divine worship, appeared, for the most part, in a forbidding aspect, either as semi-savages, or as visionaries. There were then as yet no men who, possessing a delicate sense of the essence of Judaism, were equal to the task of recognizing the perversities that had crept into Judaism in the course of the vicissitudes of the ages, and to detach them from the essential elements. To remove the ugly excrescences with a gentle hand, by gradual transitions, without hurting any one's sensibilities—for such a task a particularly well endowed personality would have been necessary—a Moses Maimonides, or a more energetic Mendelssohn. In the transition period, there was on the whole an absence of men of clear consciousness, firm character and recognized standing. The French Sanhedrin and the consistories, it is true, possessed an official character, and could have acquired authority. But the leaders of French Jewry, such as David Sinzheim, Abraham di Cologna and their successors, did not possess the insight that was necessary for the rejuvenation of Judaism. There were no well-equipped men to take in hand and introduce the reforms necessary for the beautifying of the external aspect of and the removal of the excrescences from Judaism. As there was an absence of men, the age itself undertook that task, and frictions and convulsions ensued. The sloughing process was not to be an easy one for Judaism.

The change which the age wrought in Judaism as well as in Jewry proceeded from Germany because it had given birth to Mendelssohn. In consequence of the struggle for their civil rights which the Jews of Germany had to engage in, two equally disagreeable phenomena appeared. Those Jews who had acquired refinement, drifted with the current and became estranged from Judaism; if they did not renounce it altogether, they held it in contempt. They regarded Judaism as a mummy, a petrifaction, or as a spectre that wanders restlessly and aimlessly through the centuries, an image of wretchedness for which there is no help. But few of this educated class were as clear-sighted as was Heine, in his lucid moments, to recognize in this mummy the signs of suspended animation, with the power to burst its coffin-lid open some day, and to enter into a vigorous combat with living forces. The majority of the Jews who still cherished a deep love for this mother of all religions who had grown wrinkled, clung to the non-essential forms to which they had been accustomed from their youth, because, seeing treason on the other side, they wished to differentiate themselves from the traitors of Judaism. "They loved the stones, and prized the dust." But it was no longer the harmless piety of former days that had no opposition in view, but a piety fraught with agitation and passion. To them Judaism was a gigantic structure composed exclusively of small cubes that upheld and supported one another; and they feared the demolition of the entire structure the moment one of the mutually supporting joints became loose. They would not give up even the odious jargon and the indecent conduct in connection with divine worship and ritual practices. Every concession or every deviation from the old order of things seemed to them an alliance with the traitors of Judaism.

A clumsy attempt was made to bring about an adjustment between these two extremes. Israel Jacobson introduced a sort of reform. The Westphalian consistory was hardly appointed, and he was placed at its head, when he began to introduce innovations that had two aspects. He kept out of the synagog everything that was unsightly, objectionable and noisy, particularly the sing-song during divine worship. The introduction of the sermon in the German language is self-evident. But he introduced also new forms and customs borrowed from the Church, German prayers alongside of the Hebrew, German songs alongside of the pregnant, profound psalms, confessions of faith (confirmation), etc., for boys and girls at their entrance upon a more mature age. With the disappearance of the house of cards, the Westphalian Kingdom, Jacobson's glory vanished also. Upon his removal to Berlin, he fitted up a chapel in his house (1815) and introduced the reformed service with German prayers, songs, and a choir; there was no room for an organ at first. Later on, the banker Jacob Beer (the father of Meyerbeer) equipped a large hall for that purpose (1817), when an organ was also introduced. As a result of the victory of the Germans over Napoleon and the so-called Holy Alliance, religiosity came into vogue, and infected also those Jews who formerly did not feel the least need of devotional exercises. Such semi-converts with a prepossession, not for Judaism, but for religious sentimentality, attended Jacobson's services, to find "edification" and "devotion." The "Society of Friends" supplied the congregation with members. This was the origin of a reform party, an insignificant community within the community which, however, had a promising future on account of the energy displayed at the outset and of the repellent nature of the traditional form of worship. The new form of worship centred about the German sermon which Jacobson himself delivered for the most part. This proved the greatest attraction, because the so-called discourses of the rabbis or the itinerary Polish and Moravian preachers were insipid in every way. This private synagog of Jacobson or Beer became a seminary for incipient Jewish preachers. Jacob Auerbach (Berlin), Edward Kley (Hamburg), and E. L. Günsburg (Breslau), were the first to receive their practical training in that synagog—men of mediocre endowments as well as of mediocre oratorical gifts. All at once, the Berlin chapel was closed by the Prussian government when several ultra-orthodox lodged a complaint about the innovations. Frederick William III was opposed to all innovations even in Jewish circles, and hated them as revolutionary. Kley, thereupon, departed for Hamburg where he was called to take charge of a free school, established by several well-to-do families. In that city Kley gave an impetus to the establishment of a reform temple modeled after Jacobson's.

In Hamburg, too, devotionalism and religiosity had come in vogue. The suggestion of a reform service met with sympathy. Kley had brought with him a ready-made program from Jacobson's chapel; German hymns and prayers, sermon and organ. He himself introduced a so-called hymnal, savoring of Protestant edification, meaningless, insipid and puerile. There were, however, in Hamburg a number of men who, though favoring the innovations, did not wish to break altogether with Judaism and its past, and particularly to dispense with the Hebrew language in prayer. The leaders of this party, Breslau and Säckel Frankel, who knew Hebrew, selected a number of prayers from the traditional Hebrew prayer-book, to combine them with the newly-introduced German hymns and prayers—a peaceable, businesslike compromise. About fifty families formed an organization, and thus the Association of the Reform Temple came into existence in Hamburg (1818). At the dedication of the Temple, young girls sang songs jointly with boys in order to create a sensation, for this innovation could not but scandalize the other side. Later on, the small community acquired a capable leader in Gotthold Salomon, an able preacher, who was more familiar with biblical and Jewish literature, of a more active mind and understood better how to cover up the nakedness of the young child. But he gave the new temple a Protestant character, without being clear in his own mind as to the further attitude Judaism is to assume to Christianity. The leaders and supporters of this movement cherished the delusion, justifiable in the beginning, that reform, with its pleasing, attractive form, and demanding but little sacrifice, would reconcile with Judaism those of her sons who had become estranged from her and bring them back within the fold. Here and there, it did, indeed, succeed in preventing some Jews who were at variance with Judaism from stepping across the threshold of the Church. But this means did not prove of permanent value.

The establishment of the Hamburg Temple self-evidently created a division in Jewry. Hitherto there were only "old-fashioned" and "fashionable," as they styled one another, but no parties with a standard, catch-word and creed. Not even the ultra-pious formed a definite party. For, although the worshippers of the traditional, deviating not one iota from the established order of things, constituted so great a majority that they could have crushed the innovators even in Hamburg, they took no active measures against them as a separate party, though individuals sighed at and lamented the decline of Judaism through its transgressors. The followers of the old had no commanding leaders; the authority of the rabbis had quickly vanished within one generation. The large German communities left unoccupied the rabbinical offices which had become vacant. They cared no longer to import rabbis from Poland, and in Germany there were as yet no great rabbis of acknowledged authority. Berlin, where the Friedländer circle that flirted with Christianity had the upper hand by virtue of its wealth, set the example, and the communities of Prague and other cities followed in its footsteps. In the place of the rabbis, the rabbinical offices were occupied by substitutes who were too irresolute to have opinions of their own, and too weak to resist the presumptions of the reckless communal authorities.

In consequence of the disregard into which the rabbinate had fallen, the Talmudic schools of Prague, Frankfort, Altona-Hamburg, Fürth, Metz and Halberstadt, that formerly numbered at least several hundred students (Bachurim) discontinued their activity. This desolation communicated itself to Poland, since the Talmudic students of that country could no longer entertain the hope of securing positions in Germany or France. Only four rabbis of the more recent period enjoyed a widespread authority by virtue of their profound Talmudic knowledge, and their pure, patriarchal character. These men were: Mordecai Benet, of Nikolsburg (died in Carlsbad, 1820), Jacob Lissa (died in Posen, 1832), Akiba Eger (born in Eisenstadt, Hungary, 1761; died in Posen, 1837) and his son-in-law Moses Sofer (died in Pressburg, 1840).

Akiba Eger, because of his genius and his virtues, the most conspicuous of which was modesty, stood particularly high in the esteem of the thousands of students who had received their Talmudic education in his academy in Friedland and Posen. But he was a quiet man, lacked initiative and hated agitation. Moses Sofer, on the other hand, was a fanatic zealot and an energetic heresy-hunter. He posssessed courage and determination and would have made a redoubtable champion. But both he and his associates were too far removed from the centre where the battle was to begin, and had not the slightest comprehension of the new tendency which the times, and Jewry with them, followed. They did not know the enemy whom they attacked, or despised him too much to expose him to danger. When a serious question, a menacing situation arose, they were helpless, fetched the old weapons which had become rusty, and injured their own

Rabbi Akiba Eger
(1761-1837)

cause all the more by exposing their weak side. This awkwardness gave them a feeling of weakness and decrepitude. The old-fashioned, orthodox (as its opponents named it, through a false derivation from the phraseology of the Church), or the conservative party was thus without a leader, without a standard, without a program, and without cohesion. Above all, it lacked the fervent word, the indispensable means whereby public opinion could be influenced and guided, and the follies and inanities exposed. The total absence of modern education avenged itself bitterly on old-fashioned Jewry.

The young opposition party, the innovators, the party of Jacobson, possessed, on the other hand, everything that the conservative party was lacking; a courageous leader, cohesion, and particularly a wealth of slogans and phrases such as the "spirit of the age," "enlightenment," by means of which those incompetent to judge were duly impressed. One could prophesy for it victory and power. It had youthful courage and self-confidence, was daring and not very fastidious about the means it employed. Jacobson, the leader, knew full well that the Hamburg temple would meet with difficulties, and be condemned by the old rabbis as heretical. He stood in communication with its supporters, and knew that, at the instigation of the old party, the Senate, like the king of Prussia, would forbid the innovations of the temple. Jacobson, therefore, took care beforehand to obtain rabbinical sanction for the temple rites. He entered into communication with Eliezer Libermann of Austria, a conscienceless adventurer who traveled in the interest of the reform party, because he had informed its leaders that rabbis or quasi-rabbis could be found in Hungary and in Italy who would give their written approval to the new form of divine worship.

Jacobson, accordingly, addressed inquiries to them, and saw the fulfillment of his desires. Aaron Chorin, rabbi in Arad, Hungary, was the first to lend himself to Libermann's purposes. He subscribed to the new tendency without having a settled opinion on the subject. Moses Kunitz, rabbi of Ofen, a dull-witted man, also approved of the innovations though he was a devotee of the cabala. Two Italian quasi-rabbis, Shem-Tob Samun and Jacob Vita Recanti, likewise gave their approval to the innovations.

The Temple Society received, in addition, from an unexpected source, a moral support that carried great weight in Hamburg. Lazar Riesser (d. 1828), the father of the indefatigible champion of Jewish rights in Germany, was included among the old-fashioned Jews, as a matter of course. As the son-in-law and the right-hand of Rabbi Raphael Kohen, his whole being had its roots in the Talmud. To the utmost astonishment of the Hamburg Jews of both parties, Riesser, all of a sudden, addressed an open letter "to my coreligionsists of Hamburg" (early in 1819), in which he gave his approval to the temple innovations and harshly criticised the acting rabbis of Hamburg who declaimed against them. He bluntly styled the latter "hypocrites and mock-saints" who "foster discord in Israel and stand in the way of the sons who wish to return to the grace of their Father." He held up as a model the solemnity that prevails in the temple, to the disparagement of the noisy goings-on in the synagog. Eighteen rabbinates of Germany, to be sure, condemned with learned arguments the prayer-book of the Hamburg Temple; but that was not enough. The most highly respected rabbinate, the central consistory of France, was silent. The arguments which the rabbis advanced against the

Temple service were untenable for the most part; some were downright puerile.

It chanced, moreover, that the beginning of the agitation for and against the Temple occurred in the year of the "Hep-hep" riots that raged also in Hamburg. As a result, even the wealthy and worldly Jews were thrown back upon their own society and espoused the cause of the once unfolded standard. The Jewish merchants of Hamburg, members of the Temple Society, who used to attend the Leipsic fair that coincided with the main holidays, established a daughter-synagog in Leipsic, in conjunction with like-minded Berlin merchants (Sept., 1820); Meyerbeer composed the music for its opening celebration. They appointed a so-called fair preacher for this synagog, and were thus in a position, in the rallying point of so many Jews from all countries, to give a wider range to the innovations. The Hamburg reform, as a consequence, found emulation here and there; and even in those places (Karlsruhe, Königsberg, Breslau) where the program could not be adopted in its entirety at least the ceremony of confirmation was introduced.

The first attempt at the organization of an opposition party which was to stem the overwhelming tide of reform was made as a very consequence of the temple innovation, and was inspired by a man who had himself partly forsaken rabbinic Judaism but who strove for its consolidation and vindication. This man, Isaac Bernays (Mainz, 1792—Hamburg, 1849) formed a conscious counter-tendency to the shallowness of enlightening reform. Trained in the South-German school of mystic philosophy, Judaism revealed itself to him in its literature and in the course of its history in a form hitherto unseen. Bernays was the first to apprehend Judaism in its historic significance more profoundly than Mendelssohn. It was possibly his failing that he had too many ideas, that he consequently sought and found too much, and, particularly, that he was unable to give his ideas their suitable form and diction. In his fertility of mind, he looked with contemptuous sympathy upon the poverty of ideas displayed by the founders of Jewish reform, who sought to confine the gigantic spirit of Judaism within the narrow compass of a catechism for small and large children. To his mind, the "Friedländerians" were the very essence of all shallowness and narrowness. They made upon him the impression of a rabble that, living in a pyramid temple, could see no other use for it than to fit it up comfortably for mere petty domestic needs.

Bernays' train of ideas with which he reconstructed Judaism from its documents and history as from a mass of ruins is accessible only in part. Bernays preferred oral to written instruction, and was timid about giving his thoughts to the printed page. The "Biblical Orient," which is ascribed to him, contains merely the sketch of a vestibule that was to lead into the awe-inspiring temple. A rabbi of the old school would, without fail, have condemned the "Biblical Orient," if he could have understood its contents, as still more heretical even than the writings of Mendelssohn and Wessely. But if its author had stimulated only the single thought that Judaism had an historic mission, an apostleship to the nations, it would have sufficed to assign him a place of honor. This thought, to be sure, is not a new discovery of his; the fundamental book of Judaism emphasizes it keenly enough. Among the prophets it appears as the very essence of their messages. But the multifarious sorrows of the Jews and the servile appearance of Judaism had completely driven that thought from the Jewish consciousness.

Bernays' exceptional endowments and original views attracted the attention of Jewish circles, and the Hamburg community which was desirous of counteracting the influence of the Temple Society elected him as its spiritual leader. It was a clever coup, and not without considerable importance. The selection of an incumbent for the Hamburg rabbinate (1821) attracted attention. Bernays was the first scientifically trained rabbi. It was a sign of the times that he declined the title rabbi and preferred that of Chacham (as was the custom among the Portuguese Jews). The title of rabbi had become obnoxious. Averse to servile imitation, he avoided the clerical mummery, the pulpit garb and gestures upon which the reform preachers had set so much store. Bernays did not pose as a pastor; he was the teacher of his community. He preached, too, but his sermons, in content, form and even in externals, were radically different from those introduced by the Jacobson School. When Heine, who at that time was still interested in Judaism, visited Hamburg, he felt impelled to hear Bernays preach. The verdict of the lyric scoffer was: "I have heard Bernays preach; . . . none of the Jews understands him; he is an ingenious man for all that, and has more spirit in him than Kley, Solomon, Auerbach I and II." By quiet activity Bernays won the respect of the ultra-pious Jews. Their suspicious nature could find nothing to criticize in the religious actions of the Chacham. For this reason, the changes which he introduced, and which were really reforms after all, met with favor, and were adopted even in pious communities. He exerted a still greater influence through his intelligent and detailed instruction of adults, which attracted to him many disciples whom he inspired with a joyous loyalty to Judaism.

Equally beneficent and elevating in a different direction was the activity of a man who represented an entirely different type. Originally a disciple of the Jacobson School who, however, by adopting a middle course, popularized the modernization of divine worship which had hitherto been such a bone of contention. Isaac Noah Mannheimer (Copenhagen, 1793—Vienna, 1864) may be called the incarnate refinement of Jewry. In him the essential characteristics of ancient Jewish culture were blended with the attractive form of European culture. The inner and the outer man, heart and mind, enthusiasm and prudence; idealism and practical self-possession, poetic endowments and common sense, childlike gentleness and telling scorn—all formed a harmonious combination within him. A chieftain who, in the midst of adverse struggles and dangers, establishes a colony with a band of semi-savages, civilizes it and transforms it into a model commonwealth, deserves no greater credit than Mannheimer for establishing the community of Vienna. Despite Metternich's promises at the Congress of Vienna, Austria conferred no civil rights upon her Jews; in Vienna, only a few wealthy families with their appendages were tolerated by way of exception under the strangest titles. These tolerated families had immigrated from various countries, had no original connection with one another, had no community rights, could own no synagog or appoint a rabbi; in a word, as a religious association, they were, legally, denied practically everything. Nevertheless, several venturesome members conceived the desire of introducing a reform service, patterned after the Hamburg temple, and now were encouraged and now discouraged by the government. While these enlightened Jews of Vienna undertook the erection of a synagog by many a circuitous way, they acquired Mannheimer as the preacher for the new synagog, but were necessitated by an evasion of the restrictive law to procure for him the right of residence in Vienna under the title of director of the religious school.

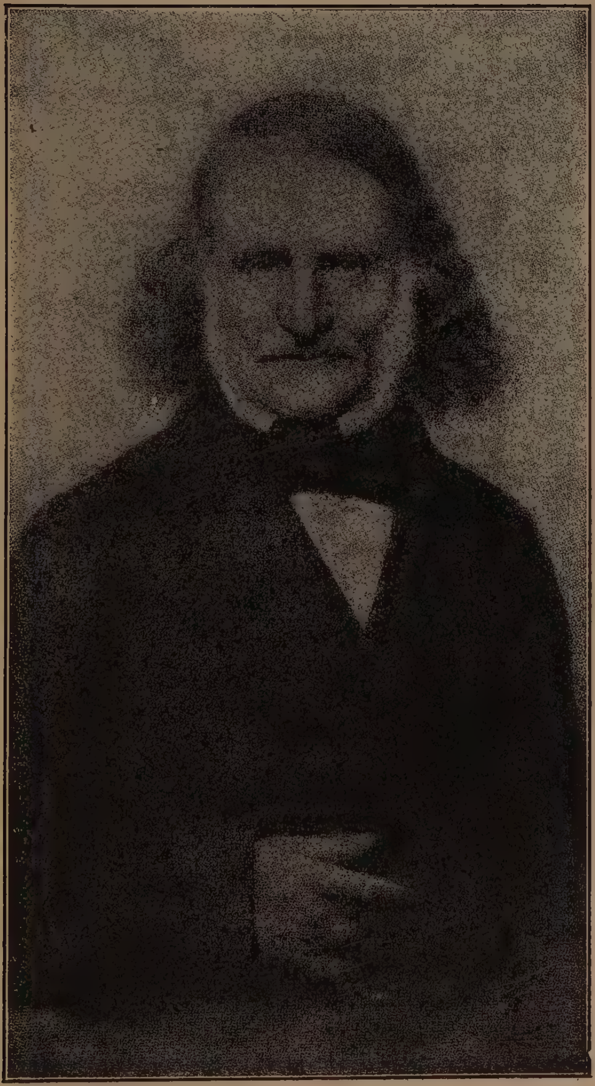
His first message in his new sphere of activity, as well as his last, was to call forth no schism in Jewry, to promote no sectarianism, not to offend and repel the old-fashioned by bold innovations, but rather to attract them gradually to the new forms. He introduced accordingly moderate changes in the synagog worship. Only the ugly excrescences did Mannheimer remove from the new house of God, and abandoned the German hymns and the organ to the disappointment of his former associates. Isaac Mannheimer succeeded even better than Isaac Bernays in reconciling the old with the new. In Mannheimer, as in the new temple of Vienna (dedicated in April, 1826), the Orient and the Occident embraced each other. As though the synagog and the community were destined from the beginning to accomplish the work of reconciliation between the old and the new, they found a master singer (Solomon Sulzer, 1804-1890), who lent to the Hebrew prayers an almost enchanting expression, transformed the old, bewildering synagogal chants into soul-dissolving melody. The aversion to civilization on the part of the old-fashioned Jews, softened from the pulpit and the choir, gradually disappeared and a desire for self-improvement took its place. The impetus given by Vienna made itself felt in near and distant communities of Austria. Pesth, Prague and smaller communities of Hungary, and Bohemia adopted the "regulated service" of Vienna, and its influence extended even into Galicia. The activities of Chacham Bernays in Hamburg and of Mannheimer in Vienna gradually found emulation in German communities also. Educated rabbis were preferred; and these restored to the synagog its long-lost dignity.

At the same time when the learned German riff-raff threw stones at the Jews to the accompaniment of the "Hep-hep," three young Jewish men, filled with earnest, ideal aspirations, met to organize a sort of conspiracy against the intolerant Christian state. These three were Leopold Zunz (Detmold, 1794—Berlin, 1886); Eduard Gans (d. 1839), the standard-bearer and apostle of the Hegeliam philosophy and the assailant of the old law practice, and Moses Moser (1796-1838), a bookkeeper who lived in the world of books, an intimate friend of Heine, who styled him "an edition de luxe of a man, the epilog of Nathan the Wise"; and they combined for the purpose of organizing a Society for "the culture and science of the Jews" (Für Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden, Nov. 27, 1819).

Several young men joined these three, including hardened Mendelssohnians such as Ben-David and David Friedländer. Nor was Jacobson missing whenever there was occasion for giving gratuitous advice. Altogether the Society had about fifty members in Berlin; about twenty in Hamburg among the members of the Temple Society and several sympathizers in various places. Heine, too, joined it, later on, and carried on a propaganda in its behalf. The first condition laid down by the founders of the Society was to remain loyal to Judaism, to resist bravely the enticements of the Church, and thus to set a shining example of steadfastness to the younger generation. Had the Society remained true to this program, it would have exerted a beneficent influence by that fact alone, since the majority of its members were men of the most liberal education. But the Society proved faithless to this program, and, in addition, started from a false premise, set for itself too many aims, and employed the wrong means. The false premise was that, if the Jews acquired a superior education, devoted themselves to the arts and sciences, engaged in agriculture and in handicraft instead of commerce, the German Jew-hatred would vanish all at once, the sons of Teut would fraternally embrace the sons of Jacob, and the state would not refuse them equal rights. With that object in view, the Society wished—it sounds comical the many things it did wish—to establish schools, seminaries, and even academies for Jews, to foster industries, the art, agriculture and science, and even to instil social refinements in the Jews. The academies, however, were reduced merely to a sort of private school where educated members of the Society imparted instruction to poor youths who still came to Berlin from foreign countries, especially from Poland, Talmudic students who deserted the Talmud folios in order to acquire "wisdom." The founders of the Society realized soon enough that they had built air castles and that the "Kulturverein" met with no encouragement. They therefore gave up some of their high pretensions and agreed to confine themselves to the fostering of the science of Judaism. They decided accordingly to deliver scientific discourses among themselves, and to establish a periodical for the "Science of Judaism." But the leaders themselves had no clear conception of the meaning of that term. Heine, with riper knowledge, made therefore great sport of them.

But young Israel, the founders of the Society for culture, listened at first to the utterances of Hegel, the philosophic rope-dancer, as though they were oracles. They babbled after him that Judaism was the religion of a spirit that had breathed its last, and that Christianity had swallowed up the entire ancient history in order to reproduce it from iself in a newer and nobler form. Eduard Gans spoke constantly of the "unappeased Jewish sorrow," but had in mind his own sorrow at being unable to find an official position in Prussia. What was to be the aim of the science of Judaism which the Society for Culture was to foster? Gans expressed it in such hollow phrases and so grotesquely in Hegelian jargon, as to leave the impression that the standard-bearer himself did not know the purpose for which the band that followed him should join the ranks.

The vagueness of the aim of the Society for Culture is attested to by its official organ, the "Zeitschift" (the first number of which appeared in June, 1823), whose articles consisted, for the most part, of indigestible Hegelian jargon or learned matter that could be of use only to a limited circle of students. The plain-spoken Heine said bluntly that "the greater part (of the Zeitschift) is unpalatable on account of its careless form." "Insist that its contributors possess culure of style. Without that the other culture cannot thrive." And with such rubbish the Society was to ennoble not only the Jews but also Judaism. Gans complained in a report that the founders of the Society were not understood: "The enthusiasm for religion, the solidity of the old ties are gone, but no new enthusiasm has set in; no new ties created. Things remain in the state of that negative enlightenment which consists in scorning and despising the established order of things without going to the trouble of creating a new content." As the Society was least adapted to accomplish such a task, it gradually dwindled into insignificance, and died at last, unwept and unnoticed. Even before its dissolution, several of its members deserted its standard, and embraced Christianity despite their oath. Gans himself, even while he was delivering long speeches in the Society, entertained the possibility of submitting to baptism; and he, the standard-bearer and main leader of the Society, who was a man of sufficient means to be in a position to remain true to his vow, finally added one more skeptic and infidel to



Leopold Zunz

(1794-1886)

Christianity. Heine, though himself baptized, was very indignant at Gans for it, and could not forgive him even beyond the grave: "Gans' apostasy was all the more disgusting since he played the part of an agitator and had undertaken definite presidential duties. Tradition prescribes it as a duty that the captain be the last to leave the sinking ship. Gans, however, saved himself first."

Zunz, the third in the triumvirate of the Society for Culture, was the only one who remained loyal. He, too, had his doubts, but he did not despair of better things to come. He suggested the means by which the process of rejuvenation is to begin: "The only thing that emerged imperishable from this flood is the Science of Judaism; for it lives, even though no finger was lifted in its behalf for centuries. I confess that, next to the submission to divine judgment, the occupation with this science is my comfort and my help. Because I realized that I was preaching in a wilderness, I stopped preaching, not, however, in order to prove faithless to the contents of my words." And if the Society for Culture, which began with such high aims and ended with such an utter failure, had accomplished only this one thing: the awakening of a love for the science of Judaism, its dreams and doings had not been in vain. In history, not the smallest grain perishes. This science could not, of course, germinate in the soil of Berlin, which was sanded up by the Friedländers and Jacobsons. An institution for the training of rabbis which the then quasi-rabbis of Berlin desired to establish never materialized. Salvation, or at least the prospect of its coming, issued from another, entirely unexpected direction.

Jewish science accelerated the miracle of resurrection. It awakened the Jewish people from the darkness of the grave. Israel rubbed his eyes upon his awakening, endeavored to collect his memories, conjured up before his eyes his glorious past in order to find his way; he felt on that occasion both old and young, rich in memories and poor in experience, in uninterrupted, most intimate connection with gray antiquity and yet as though he was of yesterday. He presently scrutinized the monuments of his spirit that had meanwhile found their way into the history of the nations and assumed a form of their own, that he might use them as a guide in the labyrinth of his experiences. This is, to begin with, the science of Judaism—the vivid realization of his great history and his peculiar Law. It awakened the dormant forces of Israel, and inspired him with the self-confidence that he would be able to act in the future in the same spirit as in the past. As a result of this self-confidence which took possession of a portion of this resurrected, ancient people, it began to vie with the young nations in living in accordance with its own genius, and in placing a high value upon it, to the end that its sons blush or stammer no longer when questionerd about their descent and their faith. As though the generative power of history desired to encourage this feeling, it produced from the midst of the Jewish race genuine artists, musicians, painters and poets of the first magnitude who inspired respect for their race by their loyalty.

All nations which desire to assert their independence and vitality in the present seek first of all to prove their age by documentary evidence, produce the ancient portraits of their ancestors and their escutcheons in order to prove that they had experienced the vicissitudes of fortune and misfortunes, of strength and weakness, of victory and defeat, to attest to their intellectual energy and thereby to justify their claim upon continuance and growth. The Jewish race had no need of searching for its heroic deeds of the past, and for the monuments of its intellectual vigor. Even in its seemingly servile shape, it was not altogether devoid of them. One century proclaimed it loudly to another. It was only a matter of listening to this voice or of not drowning it in the turmoil of selfish interests. The history of the Jews tends first and foremost to prove their own greatness. Through the thousandfold injustice of the ages, it was distorted and misconstrued. While subjected to the persecution of their tormentors, the Jews were not in a position to preserve the accumulated memories of their great past; these were known to them only piecemeal and in a distorted fashion. Christian investigators, attracted by the greatness of the subject, did, indeed, construct a collective picture of them out of disjointed fragments; but the picture could not be a true one because entire elements were missing, the light colors were diluted, and the shadows preponderated or were purposely exaggerated. Even kindly disposed defenders of the Jews, such as Dohm and Grégoire, who scanned the annals of Jewish history earnestly, could not find their way therein. Upward of a century elapsed since Basnage, the venerable French-Protestant clergyman, devoted his attention to Jewish history, though his work, too, was only fragmentary. It was Isaac Marcus Jost (Bernburg, 1793—Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1860) who first presented Jewish history in a more finished form. He had more courage than Zunz, who seemed called for such work by virtue of his extensive and profound knowledge. Jost proceeded to this gigantic undertaking with inadequate means, and deserves well for having provided a guide for the labyrinth of Jewish history.

When the blind Teutomaniacs advocated the expulsion of the Jews from the Teutonic countries and the perverted or venomous Jew-baiters sought out only the discreditable incidents in the pages of Jewish history for the purpose of defaming the Jews, there arose within Jost the impulse to present the history of the Jews in a better light. His real purpose was to prove from its pages that the Jews have ever been peaceable citizens and faithful subjects. They did, it is true, show their teeth to the Roman emperors, and fought energetically; this, however, was done only by a few hotspurs, the Zealots, whose folly is not to be laid at the door of the entire nation. The Jews, on the whole, were ever well-behaved fellows who never slaughtered Christian children, and did not otherwise deserve the aspersions cast upon them. Only the Pharisees, and their lineal descendants, the rabbis, were abominable fellows, full of superstition and darkness. This is the keynote of Jost's presentation of Jewish history. He meant to refute at the same time the admirers of Jewish history and its scorners. No one denies to-day the one-sidedness of his presentations; and yet Jost rendered his people an essential service by his historic work (published 1820-28). He offered his generation something new, and defined as much as possible the indispensable bases of history: time and place. His predecessors, the Christian compilers of Jewish history, including Basnage, had a vague or wrong conception of this rather important point. Moreover, Jost called attention to the sources, scanty though they were, which were then mostly unknown and which proved invaluable for future study. To be sure, he gave the heroic history of the Jews a dry, Philistine character, and robbed it of the lustre with which it was surrounded even in the eyes of impartial Christian observers. He had torn the heroic drama that was enacted for many thousands of years into mere shreds. He cleverly created a deep chasm between the ancient *Israelites,* the ancestors and contemporaries of the prophets and the psalmist, and the *Jews,* the disciples of the rabbis, and separated them so completely from each other, as though the latter had never been the descendants of the former. His prosaic sense saw in history only an accumulation of accidents, subject to no law. The presentation of his history is really only an enlarged and revised edition of Basnage.

Jost, nevertheless, exerted a great influence with his imperfect compilation of Jewish history. The imperfection of his treatment was due partly to his inadequacy. To bring up the gold-ore from the buried shafts of this history, it was necessary to possess the faith in the existence of rich treasures, and a trained eye to discover them. Jost lacked both. There were, however, two men in Galicia who possessed both; and it was from them that there issued the deeper perception of the spirit that moves in the history of the Jewish people, and a rich impregnation that brought the seed to fruition. Krochmal and Rapoport were the first to bring up the pure ore from the buried shafts and to show how it was to be produced and worked. They had stimulated a rivalry which made it possible that, within three decades, the débris that had covered the great antiquity of Judaism was removed and the divine form that was buried beneath them could be brought to light. They were the founders of a new school which may be called the Galician.

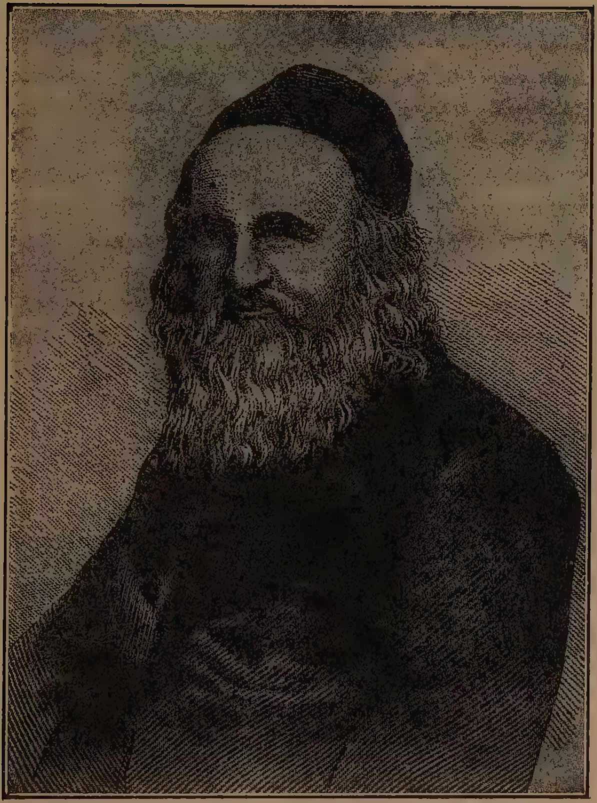
Nachman Krochmal (Brody, Galicia, 1785—Tarnopol, 1840) still witnessed the feeble dying rays of the expiring Mendelssohn school. Mendelssohn was his ideal and his pattern. Azariah dei Ressi, the Jewish critic of the sixteenth century, formerly declared a heretic and then forgotten, returned to life in the person of Krochmal. The more the fanatic Talmudists and Hasidim of Poland spied upon every one who occupied himself with extra-Talmudic or extra-cabalistic literature, or took a non-Hebrew book in his hand, to stigmatize him as a heretic, the sweeter tasted this stolen water to Krochmal and those who entertained the same views. Under his sable cap there crowded into his head, next to a vast mass of Talmudic knowledge, a train of ideas that assumed a belligerent attitude toward Talmudism. With him, however, it did not come to a declaration of war. Krochmal was too timid to venture far from the beaten path; he rather avoided every conflict. But to his intimates and disciples he revealed the treasures of his mind, not behind closed doors, for walls have ears, but in the open fields. His auditors, trained in the Talmudic methods and unusually quick in grasping the most obscure allusions, readily caught his hints, without the necessity on his part of entering into detailed explanations. His occupation with German philosophy gave to his mind the necessary logical discipline. Original philosophic ideas, which he seemed to have regarded as his forte, he advanced but few, to be sure; but he was the first to pave the way for philosophic speculations on history, and Jewish history in particular, and for a clear survey of its intricate course. He also pointed out how the treasure house of the Talmud could be exploited and utilized for purposes of history, and how these historic sources could be examined microscopically or half-effaced lines restored. To be sure, the results of Krochmal's researches were not always sound; but his penetration and his wholehearted devotion to this science did not often lead him astray. He had stimulated disciples to engage in research work, and had given them the key to many an hieroglyphic-like original document. Although he had published but few of his discoveries, his fame spread beyond the borders of his country.

The community of Berlin, which ever since Friedländer's time, harbored a deep aversion to Poland and rabbis, entertained the idea of extending a call to him as its rabbi. He was regarded as the mainstay of the young Jewish science, and had many admirers in Germany.

Solomon Judah Rapoport (Lemberg, 1790—Prague, 1867), the most susceptible and gifted of his disciples, disputed his preëminence with him and eclipsed him, in part, by his more prolific contributions. Gentle, cheerful, witty and sociable, Rapoport was a welcome guest in every society. At an early age Rapoport proved partly disloyal to Talmudic learning by devoting himself to its rival: science and poetry. Jewish history fascinated him above all, and he supplied a series of biographies of Jewish historic personalities (1829-31) which were full of illuminating suggestions, and thus cleared the way for a deeper understanding of Judaism and its inner history. Rapoport contributed more than Krochmal to the cultivation of this knowledge since he did not permit himself to be intimidated by heresy hunters, but rather displayed manly courage by attesting with his name to the truth which he discerned. The scientific movement within Jewry that has gathered ever greater force since this period, is traceable to him. Less importance attaches to the source that first releases the water and causes it to trickle among the underwood than to the broad stream that is visible to the eye, carries ships upon its bosom, overflows the banks and fertilizes the neighboring fields. The importance which he achieved is indicated by the circumstance that he was appointed district rabbi of Tarnopol, and was soon after elected chief rabbi of Prague—a Pole called to Germany, but under what different circumstances!

Meanwhile there occurred in the sight of all Europe an historcal miracle which shook the continent from one end to the other. In the West, lightning flashed all of a sudden from a clear sky, a thunder bolt, a fearful crash followed, as though the end of the world had come. The Revolution of July (1830) was a downright miracle. No one suspected it, let alone prepared for it. Like all eventful changes in history, this revolution stood the Jews, and indirectly Judaism as well, in good stead. During the reign of the two Bourbon kings, Louis XVIII and Charles X, the rights of the Jews, though confirmed by the constitution, were encroached upon, because the Catholic clergy preponderated, and did not like to see the Jews favored too much. Under the legitimate kings, Jews had received no state appointments, although their number had trebled, and they had acquired culture in every respect. A beginning had already been made to exclude them. The so-called Charte recognized Christianity as the established religion, and Judaism was regarded as existing merely on sufferance. The Revolution of July proved, therefore, of great importance to Judaism. The first Assembly of the deputies under King Louis Philippe concerned itself at once with the removal of the existing, though slight, inequality between Jews and Christians. One deputy (Biennet) moved that the recognition of a state religion be stricken from the constitution, and that the Jewish cult receive the same state support as that of the Catholics and Protestants; and his motion met with general favor.

In the Senate, the equalization of Judaism with Christianity was not carried so easily; the antiquated notions still prevailed there. The minister Merilhou had therefore to employ his brilliant eloquence to induce the Senate to vote for this proposed measure. In this speech, Merilhou emphasized the significance of Judaism. "When a religion



Rabbi Solomon L. Rapoport

(1790-1867)

has the character of permanency and unites a considerable number of its adherents; when it is practiced in every country of the civilized world, it is impossible to deny its ministers public support which is only an expression of respect on the part of civil society for every religious denomination. The Hebrew religion fulfills all these conditions. Its birth ante-dates Christianity. The disciples of Moses proved the power of their faith." Other addresses in similar terms were heard in the Senate chamber, with the result that the proposed law was adopted by a vote of 89 to 57. As a result, the last barrier between French Jews and Christians was removed. King Philippe approved the law (Feb. 8) to the effect that French rabbis, like the Catholic and Protestant clergy draw a part of their salary from the state treasury. The rabbinical seminary (Collège Rabbinique) recently established at Metz (Aug., 1829) was also recognized as a state institution, and was partly supported by state funds. At the same time, the Senate of Frankfort-on-the-Main introduced a motion to confer at least civil rights upon the Jews, with the special object of removing the restrictions placed upon the number of Jewish marriages. But two-thirds of its ninety members rejected that motion.

In other German cities (Munich, Breslau and others), the emancipating Revolution gave occasion to new "Hep-hep" attacks upon the Jews, proceeding, it is true, from the rabble but maliciously welcomed by the better classes also. This phenomenon, which aroused the indignation of the nobler minds, raised a mighty champion for the Jews who inspired them with self-respect. This champion, Gabriel Riesser (1806-60), a supremely noble-minded personality, every inch a man, was a son of the Lazar Riesser who had embraced the cause of reform in Hamburg and a grandson of the ultra-

Talmudist Raphael Kohen, but he was thoroughly German in his nature. Judaism as the leaven in the long range of the history of the nations had become to him rather a matter of indifference; but he nevertheless fought for its honor and dignity. It was not the selfish attainment on the part of Jews of the advantages denied them that he had at heart. With noble indignation he upbraided the German governments for depriving the Jews of their human rights for the sole purpose of driving them to baptism and thus entice them to a false oath and to base-mindedness, since such conversion is prompted for the most part by selfish motives and not by sincerity. "How can a grown man preserve his respect for the (Christian) religion whose adherents must appear to him as vile procurers who entice by means of external advantages to a confession without faith, just as procurers of a different sort entice by the lure of gold to an avowal without love?" He also rebuked those faint-hearted Jews who in their ease separate themselves from the mass of their people or acquire equality by means of an affected conversion, or, at least, hand their children over to the Church. Riesser advocated the organization of Societies that would direct their energies to bring about the emancipation of the Jews. Like-minded men were to form a sort of an alliance, stand loyally by their fellow-sufferers out of a sense of honor, until the fight is brought to a successful issue. Ten years ago the Society for Culture of Berlin did not dare advance such a program openly; but then the Revolution of July intervened between Eduard Gans and Gabriel Riesser. Riesser appealed to Christians, too, to join such societies since true-hearted men of all denominations must regard it as a matter of honor to intercede for the redemption of the enslaved.

Riesser's appeal had the desired effect; it came at an opportune time; the heart of the newer generation had become more susceptible to such an appeal. The tone of confidence and assurance with which he prophesied, as it were, the ultimate victory of freedom, led the people to indulge in such a hope. Moreover, it so happened that several occurrences seemed to lend probability to his prophecy. For the first time, the complete emancipation of the Jews, urged on by many merchants of London and Liverpool, came up for discussion in the English parliament (1830), and the most influential leaders in the House of Commons advocated it. Still more unexpectedly came the decision of the estates of the Electorate of Hessen to enact a law emancipating the Jews—the first state in Germany to take such a step. These events inspired Riesser with courage to hope for the realization of his ideal. He worked indefatigably for the cause to which he dedicated his life, but always from the point of view of honor and dignity rather than from that of material gain. He boldly insisted that not the least ritual ceremony must be sacrificed for enfranchisement if the latter can be achieved only at such a price. The German governments and states demanded enlightenment on the part of the Jews, renunciation of so-called superstition, the Talmud and the Messianic hope; and unprincipled Jews made such a barter and suggested to the government the preferment only of those who had renounced the Talmud. Riesser denounced such traffic in matters of conscience as a disgrace. Through his fight with the Jew-baiters Paulus, Eduard Meyer, Pfizer, Streckfuss, and all the doting enemies of freedom in the assemblies of the German states, he placed the Jewish question on the program of liberalism. Young Germany, and all who participated in the struggle against slavery, were henceforth compelled to inscribe on their banner religious freedom and the equality of all classes.

But Riesser rendered Jewry a far greater service in that he inspired the Jews with self-respect and eradicated the false shame which the so-called cultured Jews felt at the name of Jew.

Moved by the thought that the self-respect and the self-consciousness of Jewry could best be aroused through Jewish science, and particularly through a knowledge of the past, Leopold Zunz, the first one in the "Society for Culture" to give an impetus to the cultivation of Jewish science, threw light upon an essential branch of it. In his contributions to the organ of the Society he had suggested the methods of research based upon the study of original sources. Now Zunz began to utilize the wealth of the material which he collected with astounding industry for the regeneration of the Jewish people, and published (1832) the "Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden" that is a presentation of the synagogal selections from the Bible, and particularly from the Pentateuch, in their origin, development, decline and renewed growth. He wished to present ocular evidence that, during the Middle Ages, the Jews were not a savage horde without civilization and discipline, but a community intellectually alert, that developed from within a culture of its own and took an active part in the general culture. It was the first work of solid, though dry, scholarship produced by a Jewish writer that could be acceptable to the German scholarly world. It made an enduring impression and proved greatly stimulating. The "Gottesdienstliche Vorträge" aimed also at advancing the cause of Jewish equality and reform, but is concerned chiefly with history.

Jewish science, now become full-fledged, at once established new organs as its medium of expression. The oldest and most important was the Hebrew periodical, "Pleasant Vineyard" (Kerem Hemed), established (1833) by Samuel Löb Goldberg of Tarnopol, that for a decade in succession assisted in bringing the various phases of Judaism to a clearer knowledge. Jewish history received special attention in its pages. There ensued a rivalry among men and youths to undertake scientific investigations of Jewish interest, and to make their results public property. The majority of the contributors to this periodical belonged to the Galician School, among whom Rapoport stood preëminent. Under the influence of Rapoport's courageous example, Krochmal, too, was induced to publish some chapters of his studies under his own name. German Jewry was represented by only two, but highly gifted, contributors—Zunz and Michael Sachs. Though they differed in their conception of Judaism, each, from his own point of view, contributed materially to the enrichment of Jewish science.

The small band of Jewish scientific investigators received reinforcement from Italy which had been wrapped in slumber for a long time and had excited but little notice in Jewish history, through the singular Isaac Samuel Reggio, scholar and rabbi of Göritz (1784-1855). Rabbi Mordecai Samuel Ghirondi of Padua (1799-1852), who completed Neppi's Biographical Dictionary, the wealthy layman Joseph Almanzi (1801-60), and the physician Samuel Vita della Volta of Mantua. Preëminent among the Italians was Samuel David Luzzatto (Triest, 1800—Padua, 1865). No one had mastered the Hebrew language in all its refinements and grammatical niceties more profoundly than he did. In the Rabbinical College (Collegio Rabbinico) recently established by the Austrian government (1829), Luzzatto had the opportunity of devoting himself ardently to biblical studies and to divining the correct meaning of the words of the prophets and men of God. Stimulated by Rapoport's historic work, he applied himself to the same studies and enriched that branch of Jewish science by important contributions. In consequence of the dispersion and the tragic fate of the Jews, the finest pages of their history, originating in the Spanish-French period, had become lost. Luzzatto devoted himself with ardent zeal to discover these fine pages, and Italy crowned his efforts with success. The hounded Jews of Spain and France touched Italy, for the most part, in the course of their wanderings. There they deposited their treasures of Jewish literature which, however, were secreted for fear of the Argus-eyed inquisition. Even important printed books, issued by Italian presses, could not easily be found. Luzzatto's zeal ferreted them out, and made them known and available either through the scientific periodicals or separate publications. It was only through him that medieval Jewish history obtained its documents, its solid basis, its light and colors. If Krochmal and Rapoport are called the fathers of the scientific treatment of Jewish history, Luzzatto was its mother. It was he alone who made it possible to know distinctly, to group and to analyze, what was hitherto known only in outline, or wrapped in obscurity. The beginnings of Neo-Hebraic poetry, its golden age in Judah Halevi, as well as the abundant intellectual life of the Jews of Spain in general, were first disclosed by him, and to his last breath Luzzatto was indefatigable in searching and rummaging. He published himself a number of valuable manuscripts, and encouraged many other friends of Jewish science to do likewise.

Alongside of the Kerem Hemed, periodicals in the vernacular came into existence which, besides the questions of the day, contained some studies in Jewish science and made them current. Such periodicals were: "Israelitisches Predigt- und Schul-

Magazin" * (1834-36), *Hebrew Review,* founded by Raphall, the Portuguese Chacham of London (1835), "Wissenchaftliche Zeitschift für jüdische Theologie" (1835-47), and the "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judesthums" founded in 1837 and continued uninterruptedly to this day). All these periodicals generally shed light upon the course of Jewish history, but the doctrine of Judaism, its essential principle, for the sake of which this people did and must assume an exceptional position, and become a martyr people—this was not yet made clear. The physician Solomon Ludwig Steinheim (Altona, 1790—Zurich, 1866), an intimate friend of Riesser's and a ripe thinker, elucidated this essential point. In him was revealed, in its power of redemption, the Jewish thought, without which Judaism must be called a thousand-year-old delusion—the thought that the Jewish people were appointed for a gigantic mission, and that this apostleship of theirs is in keeping with their teachings and their fate. In addition to a wealth of ideas, Steinheim possessed an atractive style, and could have been likened to Judah Halevi, the poet-philosopher of Castile, if he had been endowed with greater poetic gifts. His first effort, "Songs of Obadiah ben Amos in Exile," is only of slight poetic value, but contains already the seed of suggestive ideas. A Jewish sage (Obadiah) of Egypt, in the period of the Ptolemys, reveals to his son the grandeur and the lowliness which the Jewish people would have to experience: "It is the purpose and the work of Providence that a frail people, destined to proclaim divine salvation, be persecuted, hounded and slaughtered as a victim for thousands of years, among millions of enemies, and yet kept alive. Our ancestors once received for themselves and their descendants consecration to priesthood.

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* The Israel Predigt and Schul Magzin (1834-36) and the "Allgemeim Zeitung des Judentums" were founded by Ludwig Philipson, and the "Wissenschoft Zeitschrift" by Abraham Geiger.

"Thyself, eternal covenant people,
A numberless host dispersed among the nations,
Thou art priest and sacrificial victim,
A gory witness of Jehovah."

The Jewish people had entered upon their pilgrimage throughout the earth that they might scatter everywhere the seeds of a purer worship of God and a higher civilization. Seen from this height, the past and the future of Judaism appeared to Steinheim in a clear light. All riddles were solved, all questions answered. The priestly mission of Israel is to be verified by his very sufferings; this Savior of the World must wear a crown of thorns, must be degraded to the point of servitude. It was an elucidation of the fundamental thought of the Second Isaiah.

The present, however, was an enigma to Steinheim. The estrangement of the sons of the people from their origin, the despairing of one's self, the contempt of faith and descent, the desertions that were of daily occurrence appeared to him as a presage of approaching destruction, as though the high-priest of humanity wished to defile himself, to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage. This self-estrangement and self-abandonment Steinheim wished to counteract. With that end in view, he sang his "Songs of Obadiah in Exile" and elaborated a system of thought dealing with the significance of Judaism. He makes the aged sage address his son: "I fear not the period of general distress, for then, like cattle under the yoke, all who suffer in common will keep together. Nor do I fear the period of general freedom. Only those times are dangerous when the oppression is moderate but not lifted, when freedom is near but not wholly achieved. In such times apostasy becomes seemingly honorable and advantageous, while pleasure in the transitory makes one indifferent to the things that are eternal. This is a period of true calamity." He rebukes sharply the heedless who sever all relations with the Jewish community:

"The grave it covers not the hand
That was against the father raised;
The grave it covers not the mouth
That cursed its mother.
And you, who play the stranger,
O renegade!
Renounce the life
Of your ruined people,
And, with mocking mouth,
Malignant join the foe,
That your offspring impious,
A stranger race, may hurl
Stones upon your father's head
And tear his hoary beard.
My song it curses you,
My lyre is filled with rage!
Zion's song despises you!"

But Steinheim did not care to curse only, but to instruct and convince. He addressed himself "to the youth with their sorrows and yearning, with their susceptibility to light and right," and dedicated to them his thought-provoking book, "Revelation as Conceived by the Synagog" (1835). Steinheim, a profound, philosophic thinker, subjected the entire content of Judaism to a critical examination, and represented it as the highest truth, "the wonder of wonders," by which alone the inquiring human mind could achieve inner satisfaction. He boldly entered upon a discussion of the answer to the question as to the real meaning of Judaism which has been extolled so highly on the one side and so deeply calumniated on the other. All Jewish thinkers considered themselves fortunate if they were only able to prove that the fundamental principles of Judaism were in harmony with the doctrines of philosophy or, at least, were not inconsistent with them. Steinheim asserted, on the contrary, that the only rational religion was paganism in its various modifications, paganism that was responsible for so much moral corruption, inasmuch "as the robbers, thieves, adulterers and Sodomites found their prototype in the highest beings" of whom even the good were envious, dissolute, adulterous, vindictive and unjust. And if Christianity is determined to renounce all community of ideas with Judaism (as had become the fashion since the days of Schleiermacher and Hegel) it thereby sinks to the low level of paganism. Love and hatred, Ahriman and Ormuzd, Christ and Satan, with their varieties, the eternal universal element for which the two powers contend, and inexorable necessity—these are the fundamental ideas of the natural religion. Man himself sinks under the wretchedness of this necessity:

"We finish the circle
Of our existence
By stern eternal
Almighty laws."

"Like gods, like priests and sages; like kings, like multitudes!" Over against this gross or refined paganism, Judaism appears with an entirely different order of ideas. It sets up a personal God that does not fall with nature and is not separated into two principles; it recognizes the *creatio ex nihilo,* without the eternal element. It lays strong emphasis on the freedom of man, and consequently upon man's responsibility for moral conduct. These and other truths are not, and cannot be, the product of human reason, but were revealed on Sinai. But though they are extraneous to reason, they are yet so evident and convincing that reason must reconcile itself with them and abandon its own conflicting ideas, just as it must reconcile itself to strange natural phenomena whose conformity to law it cannot comprehend. The synagog presents a sharply defined contrast not only to mythological religion, but also to the Church. Steinheim subscribed with genuine enthusiasm to the partly fulfilled prophetic word: "For out of Zion cometh forth the Law, and the word of God from Jerusalem." As soon as he discovered, or believed to have discovered, the soul of Judaism, he was stirred by a fervent zeal for it which made him keen-sighted and enabled him to get such a clear understanding of the past that he could even appreciate the activity of the much-maligned rabbis. Steinheim, with his "Revelation," revealed quite a good many truths, or, more correctly, brought to light old, forgotten truths. No one in his own or preceding age comprehended so profoundly as he did the essence of Judaism, even though some of his premises and deductions are not tenable.

All these beneficent phenomena, the purification of Judaism begun as a result of scientific investigations, and the ever-growing respect enjoyed by the Jews in civil life in consequence of their self-respect, made it seem possible that the reorganization of the Jewish religion would be accomplished peacefully, without friction and without passionate agitation. Young, academically trained men were called to the rabbinical offices even more frequently; and, by their sermons in the vernacular and by other means, they lent dignity and attractiveness to

Judaism in its external form, in order to counteract desertions and baptism. It seemed as though the representatives of the old rabbinic Judaism had disappeared from the scene or surrendered their arms. But this possibility of a peaceful development vanished all of a sudden when a shrill summons to arms was raised by one side and caught up with equal keenness by the other side. The opposition between the old and the new, and their irreconcilability, emanated from two young men who, receiving their academic training in the same university, prepared themselves for the rabbinate, stood on terms of friendship, and never suspected that their names would serve as catch-words in a bitter feud between Jewish factions: Abraham Geiger and Samson Raphael Hirsch. Highly gifted men both, they differed entirely in disposition and temperament. The former was of a merry, sociable nature, versatile, or, at least, responsive to the various aspects of knowledge, while the latter was more serious, reserved and prepossessed by his favorite ideas.

Geiger (Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1810—Berlin, 1875) was a descendant of a rabbinical family, and developed into a bitter enemy of the Talmud and rabbinic Judaism, and a passionate champion of radical reform. Hirsch (Hamburg, 1812—Frankfort, 1888), a descendant of a merchant's family, became the ardent protagonist of old rabbinism from which he would not deviate one iota. The entire activity of their life and their rabbinical office centered upon one point: with Geiger it was the complete dissolution of the Talmudic form of Judaism, with Hirsch the morbid clinging to everything sanctioned by the Talmud, the rabbinical authorities and custom.

Geiger opened the fight with the founding of the "Wissenschalfliche Zeitschift für jüdische Theologie" (1835). From the very beginning it endeavored to take things by storm. In youthful self-reliance, it assumed a lofty tone as though it wished to appoint itself the supreme tribunal from which all endeavors must expect praise or blame. It opposed courageously the shameless presumptions of the Jewish foes who fancied themselves learned, and combated the weakness of thought of those Jews who still looked for the ideal in Christianity. This journal proved of service to Jewish science by recalling to mind episodes and persons of Jewish history that had been formerly neglected, or partly or wholly proscribed; the Karaites, the gifted skeptics and hypocrites. By its impetuosity it stirred up motion and activity in Jewish circles, created a keen interest in Jewish science, and popularized the results of the researches made by various investigators. Who can tell even to-day whether its impetuosity had redounded to the greater gain or greater loss of Judaism? It had, however, disseminated radical errors by reducing Judaism to a theology, that is to say to an ecclesiastic and dogmatic religion, and stamped its representatives, the rabbis, as clergymen and parsons. In great haste it was determined to apply the new theories to life, or as the formula had it "to harmonize theory with practice." To Geiger science was not an end in itself, but a means toward emptying Judaism of the content which constituted its peculiarity. Geiger, it is true, combated with praiseworthy courage the tendency on the part of Jewish capitalists and heedless circles to obtrude themselves upon the Church without inner conviction, and the aping of Christian customs in Jewish families, and thereby incurred the ill-will of the spokesmen of Christianity; but by his determination to banish from the synagog the ancient memories and means of instruction, by making the sermon and the new prayers in the vernacular the pivotal point of divine worship, by stamping the preacher as a spiritual guide to whom the lay world had to subordinate itself, he deprived Judaism of some elements of its vitality and unwittingly encouraged apostasy.

The old-fashioned piety that had hitherto assumed an attitude of silence or bluster toward the innovations, or, like Isaac Bernays, spoke in sphinx riddles, was thereby challenged to defend itself. It absolutely denied the validity of reform upon which the innovation presumed so much. "Ben Uziel's Nineteen Letters on Judaism," written by Hirsch (1836), were the first expression of a vigorous opposition to the reduction of Judaism to a commonplace religion. It was the beginning of a combat between two different fundamental views of which the end is not yet. The combat, however, raged in Germany only. The Jews of other European countries were as yet not aware of it. For, as long as it was so difficult to wipe out the old ignominy in Germany, and to acquire the new freedom, educated Jews saw in the peculiarity of their faith one of the obstacles in the way of their emancipation, and were ready to sacrifice it.

Strange as it may seem, while adherents of Judaism felt oppressed within its atmosphere and would gladly have exchanged both Tabernacle and Ark of the Covenant for the pomp and parade of the Church, more penetrating Christians admired the tents of Jacon in all their plainness. Two Christian scholars of poetic inclinations, astounded at the marvelous phenomenon that the persecuted Jewish people had been able to produce an original neo-Hebraic poetry to this very day, to produce spring blossoms in raw winter, attempted to awaken an understanding of and love for it in Christian circles. The "History of Neo-Hebraic Poetry" (1836) by Franz Delitzsch, and the "Hebrew

Chrestomathy" by Adam Martinet, are expressions of homage paid to the Jewish spirit on the part of Christians. The authors admired the continual creative power and capacity for growth of the Hebrew language. This one phase of the Jewish genius was to them a striking proof of the immortality of the Jewish people. "No one can deny," Delitzsch observes, "that the Jewish people is the most notable of all peoples, that its history and literature next to those of the Church, deserve first and foremost consideration. Poetry forms a large part of this colossal mass of literature and is the most faithful reflection of the soul-history of this people. The Orient is exiled in the midst of the Occident. Jewish poetry springs from the tears shed in yearning for the ancient home." Martinet wanted "to become acquainted with the height, depth and breadth of the Jewish spirit of our day in the treasure of its own literature," and was fortunate in having found a fragment that is striking and noble in every respect. His "Chrestomathy" was to serve as a vindication of the neo-Hebraic literature, and "to weave into a fragrant bouquet the gorgeously blooming Oriental flowers, cultivated on Occidental soil, in order to excite admiration for them."

CHAPTER VI

THE BLOOD ACCUSATION OF DAMASCUS AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

(1840-1848)

When Joel Jakoby, an original poet of this period, vacillating between loyalty and apostasy, addresses Jewry: "Faint is thy body, my people, and weary is thy soul; therefore I bring thee a coffin, therefore I consecrate a grave to thee!" and when Geiger's impetuous journal, partly in sorrow and partly in malice, states it as a fact: "The band that formerly united and joined the Jewish communities together is torn, and they hold together only outwardly; the will-power of the community is broken," it was a case of the wish being father to the thought. Short-sighted observers mistook the symptoms of rapid growth for fatal phthisis. An incident trivial and insignificant in its beginnings, but of tremendous import in its effects, soon gave the false prophets the lie, and proved that there is a wonderful cohesion that holds the members of Jewry in indissoluble union, that the bond was still strong which invisibly and without their own knowledge holds them together, that a serious attack upon Judaism awakens a patriotic pride in the hearts of all Jews throughout the earth and of all parties, of the reform blusterer as well as of the ultra-orthodox and of the recluse who has his whole being in the cabala or the Talmud, in frivolous France as well as in serious Asia. Where that feeling of sympathy was dormant, it was awakened into life. The strangest part of it all was that the contemptuous "Jewish Affair" became involved in the entangled threads of European and Asiatic politics, and that the Russian autocrat, Nicholas, as well as the American republic, had to embrace the cause of the Jews of Damascus. Whoever recalls this period and the incident connected therewith, and possesses a sense for the miracles of history, will not misunderstand the wonderful concatenation of this event. Ratti-Menton, an Italian naturalized in France, a heartless and conscienceless fortune hunter who had to avoid Sicily and Tiflis on account of some dishonorable practices, a renegade who exchanged Christianity for Islam, a downright rascal and arch-enemy of the Jews, and other similar riff-raff—these were the diabolical authors of a new bloody drama in which the rôle of martyr was to be assigned to the Jews once more. But this tribulation led to an awakening of courage, to exaltation and to proud self-reliance.

The cunning Mohammed Ali, pasha of Egypt, had wrested all Syria and Palestine from his suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey, by brilliant victories. The equally cunning, so-called citizen-king, Louis Philippe, to disarm the resentment of the legitimate princes of Europe, and of Czar Nicholas in particular, supported Mohammed Ali's schemes of conquest. These intrigues multiplied when the determined but unfortunate sultan Mohammed died, and his weak, pampered seventeen-year-old son Abdul-Mejid ascended the throne, so to speak (July, 1839). The Oriental question then became a burning one. Russia supported the enfeebled Turkey; France, on the other hand, supported the Egyptian usurper. Austria and England vacillated. In consequence of the close relations between Louis Philippe and Mohammed Ali, the Christians of Palestine and Syria who were hitherto oppressed, raised their heads, since France gladly posed as the defender of Christianity. The Oriental priests and monks of many orders, recently victims of persecution themselves, now turned persecutors, relying upon French protection.

In Damascus, which at that time had a Jewish population of nearly twenty thousand souls, there disappeared one day (February 5, 1840) Father Tomaso (Thomas), originally from Sardinia, the superior of a Capuchin convent at Damascus, together with his servant. He was no saint in the Catholic sense, but rather a worldly man who accepted money readily but was reluctant to part with it. He dabbled in medicine and visited Jewish and Mohammedan quarters as frequently as he did the Christians, in the practice of his profession. What had become of the priest who was well known to the entire population of Damascus? Nobody knew exactly. A rumor spread, indeed, that Tomaso had engaged in a violent quarrel several days before with a Turkish mule-driver who, because of an alleged insult to Mohammed, is said to have sworn: "That dog of a Christian shall die by no other hand than mine." The monks, thereupon, importuned the French consul in Damascus, that conscienceless Ratti-Menton, to track the murderer. But attention was at once attracted to the Jews, because some of them had stated innocently that they had seen Tomaso in the Jewish quarter on the evening of his disappearance. The monks clung all the more tenaciously to their suspicion of the Jews, because they believed they could thereby accomplish several purposes. Ratti-Menton quickly seized upon this suspicion against the Jews, and desisted from all investigations in other directions, though there was a clue. Sherif Pasha, the governor of Damascus, could be easily induced to permit or to institute an attack upon the Jews, since he did not care to incur the displeasure of the French consul, and hoped to derive considerable profit himself from a blood-accusation against the Jews. To save appearances, the accusers referred to the testimony of a pious fraud who stated positively that Tomaso and his servants were murdered in a certain house in the Jewish quarter.

So-called evidence soon accumulated, and an indictment was quickly drawn up: "The Jews have murdered Tomaso and his servant in order to use their blood for the Passover celebration." Several Jews were seized, taken before Ratti-Menton and examined. At the hearing, a poor Jewish barber, from inborn fear, betrayed some confusion in the presence of spies, but he denied any participation in or knowledge of the murder of the missing priest. The French consul, nevertheless, turned him over to Sherif Pasha for further investigation as under strong suspicion. Sherif Pasha had him bastinadoed and subjected him to other tortures, until he implicated seven of the most prominent and wealthy Jews, including an old man of eighty, as the guilty parties. As these men protested their innocence, they were bastinadoed and otherwise tortured. For thirty-six hours they were made to stand on their feet, watched by soldiers, without food, drink or sleep; but no confession could be wrung from them. Sherif Pasha invented a new torture. More than sixty children, between the ages of three and ten, were taken from their parents by force, locked in a room where they were denied food, in order to compel their mothers, moved by the cries of their children, to make any sort of confession, no matter how false. This means also failed. Sherif Pasha became furious and threatened to cut off many Jewish heads if the priest were not found. With a band of soldiers he proceeded to the Jewish quarter (Feb. 18), and caused the destruction of the magnificent house of a wealthy Jew in order to discover the body of the priest or suspicious clues. Carried away by grief at such cruelties, a Jewish youth ventured to appear before the Pasha and to testify that he had seen Father Tomaso enter a Turkish shop shortly before his disappearance. But instead of following this clue, the young man was beaten so mercilessly that he died the same night.

Ratti-Menton left nothing undone to wring a confession from the Jews. He found a piece of bone and a rag, and Christian physicians pronounced the bone as a part of a human body, and the rag passed as the monk's cowl. These served as positive proof that the murder had been committed in the Jewish quarter. The seven accused Jews were thereupon examined anew and subjected to new tortures in the midst of which the aged Joseph Laniado expired. To escape further agonies, Moses Abulafia took the turban. The others, stupefied by their pain and desirous of speedy death, confessed everything that was demanded of them. But this confession was not sufficient. The French consul wanted palpable evidence, the bottle containing the priest's blood, and the like. New tortures were applied but only with the result that the unfortunate victims withdrew their former confessions. Suspicion was directed to still other prominent Jewish families, including the distinguished family of Farchi. Three rabbis of Damascus, previously arrested, were maltreated and tortured without confessing to a lie. The Austrian consul, Merlato, watched these inhuman proceedings for a while in silence, even when his Jewish protégé, Picciotto, became innocently involved in the accusation. But he finally lost patience, and protested sincerely and openly against this barbarity. And he had to suffer for it. The Christian rabble hurled imprecations upon him because he embraced the cause of the Jews, and his house was surrounded by spies. The Moslem population also was artfully incited against the Jews.

Ratti-Menton, on his part, was tireless in his efforts to procure indictments and mock-proofs. At his instance there was translated into Arabic Lucio Ferrajo's anti-Jewish book (Pompta Bibliotheca), which the monks had given him, and in which it was proven by the Talmud that Jews used blood, that they slaughtered Christian children, and desecrated hosts which afterward performed miracles. This book, in its Arabic translation, the French consul handed over to the pasha, and took care in other ways to circulate it among the Moslem population. The pasha, thereupon, placed the three imprisoned rabbis in solitary confinement, and ordered them to translate into Arabic certain passages from the Talmud to which the doctrine of ritual murder was imputed, with the threat of death if they falsified the translation. Thoughtful Turks, to be sure, shook their heads at this malicious persecution of the Jews, but they held their peace. Ratti-Menton closed the proceedings, and passed judgment that the accused were guilty of the murder of Father Tomaso. Sherif Pasha obtained the approval of his master Mohammed Ali to this decision.

As if to lend a semblance of fact to the blood accusation against the Jews and thus justify the destruction of the Jews as blood-thirsty cannibals, a similar incident occurred at about the same time in the Island of Rhodes which belonged to Turkey. A ten-year-old boy, the son of a Greek peasant, hanged himself, and the Christians hastened to charge the Jews with the murder of the boy. The

European consuls took the matter in hand, and demanded that the governor, Yussuf Pasha, institute a rigid investigation against the Jews. As a result of this double charge, a storm broke out in Syria and Turkey against the Jews. In Djabar, near Damascus, a mob broke into the synagog, destroyed, pillaged and tore the scrolls into pieces. In Beirut the Jews were saved from mistreatment only through the intervention of the Dutch and Prussian consuls. This hostile feeling against the Jews extended to Smyrna, and violent attacks upon the Jews occurred. Was it altogether a mere accident that a Jew in Rhenish-Prussia (Jülich) was charged with ritual murder at the same time (beginning of March, 1840)? A Christian girl, nine years of age, asserted that she had been stabbed in the body by a Jew. Her six-year-old brother corroborated her statement. But a rigid judicial investigation proved that the whole statement was a pure fabrication. The ostensibly wounded spot on the girl's body was only besmeared with blood. The accused Jew was completely exonerated; and a rumor, mentioned by the public prosecutor himself, charged two Christians of Düsseldorf with having drummed that horrible accusation into the children's heads.

In Rhenish-Prussia the truth and the innocence of the Jews came to light within a short time. In Damascus and in Rhodes, on the other hand, it required a long time, because fiendish European Christians wilfully spread such a network of lies on the subject that even fair-minded people were deceived. In vain did the mistreated Jews wring their hands and appeal to their European brethren to come to their rescue by virtue of the more favorable situation of the latter. The latter found it extraordinarily difficult to prove the truth and expose the malice. Religious fanaticism, Jew-hatred and the passions of political partisanship combined to cause falsehood to triumph for a while. The obscurantists utilized the art of Guttenberg which they abhorred and whose quadricentennial was just then being celebrated, to spread throughout the world the charge that all Jewry was lusting for Christian blood.

Ratti-Menton, too, took care to furnish the French press with his own version of the Damascus affair, and his report was published not only by the papers that were subservient to the Catholic clergy, but by the liberal press as well, in order to extol the power of France in the Orient. As the eyes of Europe were then directed to the complicated Turkish situation, this malicious report gained a wide circulation. The medieval hatred of the Jews could easily have been renewed, and bloody scenes could have repeated themselves. All Jews of Europe were horrified at the thought that in the broad daylight of the nineteenth century they still had to ward off the gloomy spectre of ritual murder.

But Guttenberg's art which the unscrupulous utilized, proved of still greater advantage to the Jews. There were courageous Jews who tore off the mask of virtue from falsehood and hypocrisy. Such a one was Adolph Crémieux, who had just recently gained triumphs by his eloquence. Firmly convinced at the first tidings of the still obscure proceedings in Damascus that the Oriental Jews were as innocent as the European of ritual murder, he hastened to the French minister and pointed out to him the game that was being played in France with this sad affair. With the fire of his eloquence and with the courage inspired by a just cause, Crémieux began his activity (April 7) against the wilful and blindly repeated calumnies which were being circulated in France against the Jews.

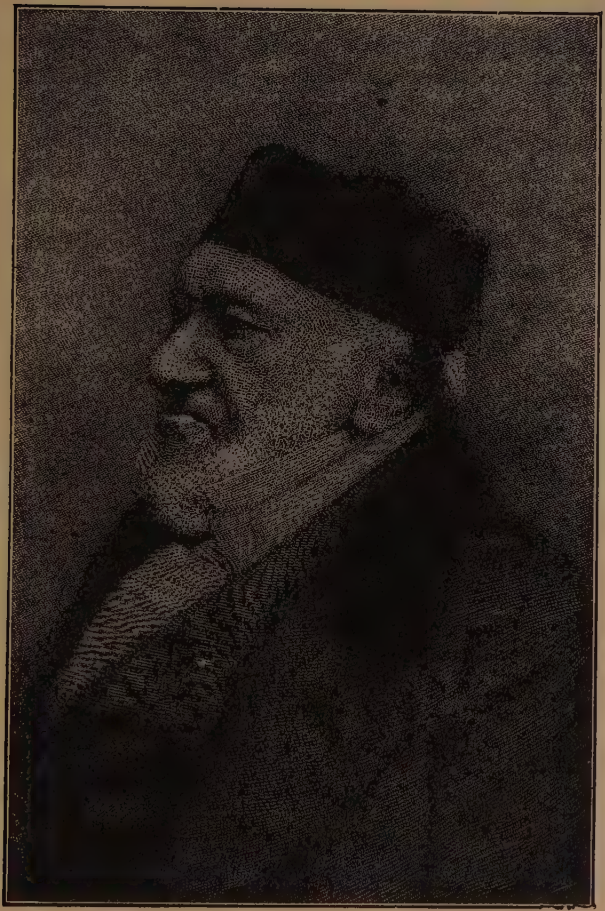
The English Jews, too, roused themselves all at once. The Jews of England stood high in public regard as a result of their wealth and honesty. Several of them had been elected to the honorary office of sheriff, and it was anticipated that they would soon receive complete emancipation and be admitted to parliament. The most distinguished Jews of England, among them Baron Nathaniel Rothschild, Sir Moses Montefiore, who had been prompted by his sense of piety to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Salomons and the brothers Goldsmid decided to appeal to the governments of England, France and Austria to use their influence toward putting a stop to the cruelties in Damascus. It was a noteworthy phenomenon, this unanimity of eminent Jews, to intercede for their persecuted brethren and to defend the integrity of their faith and even of the Talmud. On one and the same day, Crémieux repaired to the French king Louis Philippe and a deputation of English Jews to Lord Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, to invoke the aid of these countries for the Damascus victims.

Louis Philippe replied in touching but evasive terms. Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, promised the protection prayed for, in the name of Queen Victoria. Less public, but possibly more effective, were the measures taken by the Austrian cabinet to bring about a favorable turn of affairs. Merlato, the Austrian consul in Damascus, was the only one who saw through the malignity of Ratti-Menton, his accomplices and the monks, and resisted it with soldierly courage. He gave a true and striking account of the unconscionable falsehoods which had been fabricated in order to pronounce the Damascus victims guilty. This report in vindication of the steps he had taken for the protection of Picciotto which he first sent to his superior, the consul-general of Egypt, was recognized by the latter as true, and forwarded to the Austrian chancellor Metternich. Although Metternich hated publicity, he permitted the publication in the newspapers of this report which was so favorable to all Jewry. As a result of this account, Ratti-Menton was pilloried as a malicious fiend. It led to a revolution in public opinion and inspired the Jews with courage.

Through the friendly representatives of the European governments, the Jews succeeded in inducing the divan of Constantinople to order a revision of the ritual murder case of Rhodes. Nathaniel Rothschild went to Constantinople in person and obtained a firman from Abdul-Mejid to the effect that the Greek population send to the capital three primates as accusers, and the Jews an equal number of their leaders as defenders. A special tribunal was appointed to try the case, with the result that the Jews charged with child-murder were completely exonerated. With Mohammed Ali, however, the matter was not disposed of so easily. He did, indeed, as early as the beginning of April, promise Laurin, the Austrian consul-general, to put a stop to the barbarities, but the French consul-general held him back; and, relying upon France all too credulously, he dared not fall out with the agent of the French government. At Laurin's suggestion, the Jews of Alexandria presented an eloquent and courageous address to Mohammed Ali in these words: "The Jewish religion is in existence for upward of four thousand years. In the course of these four thousand years can one find in the annals of its religious institutions a single word that might serve as an excuse for a similar crime?" The Egyptian Jews could have congratulated themselves that they did not receive the bastinado for this step. But a special communication addressed to the Pasha by Metternich produced a very favorable effect.

Mohammed Ali accordingly decided to convoke a tribunal composed of the consuls of Austria, England, Russia and Prussia, to conduct the trial in accordance with European procedure. The tribunal was to be authorized to send a commission to Damascus, to conduct an impartial examination of witnesses on the spot. Sherif Pasha was ordered to discontinue the torture of the imprisoned Jews of Damascus, and to put a stop to the persecution of the Jews in general. The affair was in a fair way of settlement in favor of the truth, when a political interlude interrupted the preliminaries.

But the Jews of all shades of opinion had already acquired enough of self-reliance to obviate the subterfuges of Thiers, the French prime minister, who played a rather obnoxious part in this connection, as well as of his consul, Achille Fould, the Jewish deputy and subsequent Minister of Finance, who was connected with Judaism only by a slender thread, as well as the ultra-pious Hirsch Lehren of Amsterdam, regarded it as his duty to advocate courageously the cause of his persecuted brethren of Syria. In the French Chamber of Deputies the former interpellated Thiers in such a harsh manner that the latter had to resort to misrepresentations and evasions. The Jews, to be sure, had to put forth great efforts and act upon their own initiative, since the strictly clerical Catholic party of France, Italy and Belgium had formed a downright conspiracy or acted upon the suggestion of a higher authority, to obscure the facts in connection with the Damascus incident and to depict the Jews of the Orient and of Europe as bloodthirsty cannibals. The Italian censorship, which was under the control of the clergy, did not permit any Italian journal to publish any article in favor of the Damascene victims and against Ratti-Menton. A French journal challenged the baptized Jews to declare upon their soul and conscience whether they had found



Sir Moses Montefiore

(1784-1885)

among their former coreligionists or in the Jewish literature any trace of such a crime as was imputed to the imprisoned Jews of Damascus. Several converted Jews who occupied clerical positions in the Protestant Church, the church historian August Neander, among them, solemnly protested the innocence of the Jews of such a crime. Canon Joseph Emanuel Veith, a former Jew who had embraced Catholicism, denounced from the pulpit the blood accusation as false, and declared that, as a born Jew, he could bear witness before God of the truth of his assertion. This attestation, denied by several ultra-montane journals after Veith's death, was confirmed in a sworn statement before a notary (June 12, 1882) by his brother, Professor Veith, at the request of Ludwig August Frankel.*

Under such circumstances, the Jews were compelled to unite against their enemies, to prove the innocence of the martyrs of Damacus and, at the same time, the purity of their religion—in a word, to help themselves. The appeal of the Jews of Damascus, Beirut, Alexandria, and Constantinople, addressed to the Rothschilds, Moses Montefiore, Crémieux, and Hirsch Lehren, urged the necessity of a visit to the scene of events on the part of eminent European Jews in order to bring about effectual results. The Central Consistory of Paris decided, therefore, to send Crémieux to Alexandria with a retinue of prominent Jews. In London, a committee composed of the most eminent Jews decided that Montefiore accompany Crémieux on his journey to Egypt in order "to defend his persecuted brethren of the Orient by virtue of his great influence." The committee offered a reward of a thousand pounds sterling for the discovery of Tomaso or his murderer. It also prevailed upon unbiased public opinion, as it can find the expression through parliament only in England, to speak out in behalf of the Jews. This task was undertaken by the influential Robert Peel, and, in reply to his interpellation in the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston stated that "he had already instructed the English consul-general, Hodges, to point out to Mohammed Ali the effect that must be produced in Europe by the news of such atrocities, and that it was to his own interests so to investigate the affair that the guilty, if such there be, be brought to judgment and that the unfortunate Jewish victims, on the other hand, be indemnified, if such were still possible."

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*The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. Heinrich Berger of Vienna for this statement.

Confident of victory as a result of such declaration, Montefiore made ready for his momentous journey, accompanied by the blessings of millions of people, including those of Queen Victoria. She received him in audience before his departure, and placed at his disposal a government vessel to convey him across the Channel. Before Montefiore and his retinue left England, Solomon Herschel and David Meldola, the respective rabbis of the German and Portuguese communities of London, deemed it necessary to repeat the solemn oath formerly taken by Manasseh ben Israel and Moses Mendelssohn, that the blood accusation against the Jews does not contain the least shadow of proof in Talmudic literature, and has never received a semblance of fact through any act whatsoever. This oath was not superfluous in the face of the unprincipled clerical French and venal German press.

However, if the Jews were mistreated by the French, Italian and German press, they received a satisfaction at the hands of England that was capable of making them forget all the sorrows they had endured in the course of the fifteen centuries that Christianity predominated. In London two hundred and ten men, the leading merchants, bankers and members of parliament among them, petitioned Lord-Mayor Marshall to call a mass meeting to enable them to give expression to their feelings and sympathy with regard to the persecution of the Jews of Damascus. There thus gathered a notable assembly in London (July 3) which was in itself a great victory. The chairman declared in his introductory remarks "that the Jews of Damascus are as honorable in their actions as those who live amongst us in England. And of these I permit myself to say that none of our fellow citizens have endeavored so zealously to promote the interests of humanity, to help the poor and oppressed, to protect the orphan and to promote literature and science as they have, and that their benefactions are not confined to members of their own faith, but embrace Christians as well as adherents of other denominations." Other speakers, including clergymen, expressed themselves to the same effect. O'Connell, the agitator of Catholic rights in England, added: "After the testimony adduced in proof of the moral worth of the Jews, can there possibly be a man so depraved as to believe that the Jews use blood in their religious ceremonies? . . . As an Englishman, I call upon England to lift up her voice in behalf of the victims of that disgraceful oppression. May this call reëcho from one end of the British Isles to the other, and if the applause of an Irishman is still wanting, here am I for that purpose."

This assembly that met in the Mansion House for three hours forms a memorable episode in Jewish history. So tremendous was the weight of genuine public opinion that Nicholas I, the czar of Russia, like the American Republic, felt morally bound to indicate his horror at the torture to which the Jews were subjected. Montefiore could enter upon his journey with high hope, supported as he was by the government, and accompanied by the sympathy of the best men of England. Crémieux did not find things so easy; he was rather hampered by the French ministry. On their way through France, these high-minded and courageous representatives of Jewry were received with enthusiasm in every city that contained a Jewish community. The day on which the government ship that carried them arrived at Leghorn was ushered in by the Portuguese community with a solemn ceremony. All differences in Jewry vanished. All Israel was again of one heart and soul. Ultra-orthodox rabbis offered prayers in the synagogs for Montefiore and Crémieux.

Immediately upon their arrival in Cairo, Montefiore, with the energetic assistance of the English consul-general, obtained an audience with Mohammed Ali (Aug. 6). Meeting with a kindly reception, Montefiore handed him a petition in the name of Jewry for permission to proceed to Damascus and to institute an investigation in that city the results of which were to be approved by the pasha. Mohammed Ali was in great embarrassment. He would gladly have granted that request because he was anxious to pose in Europe as a just prince; but Cochelet, the French consul-general, upon instruction from Thiers, checked this impulse of the pasha, and left nothing undone to prevent the lifting of the veil. In consequence of Mohammed Ali's vacillation, the matter dragged on for three weeks; the Jewish deputies received no decisive answer. But Crémieux hit upon the right expedient. All European consuls, or as many of them as declared themselves in its favor, were to present a petition requesting the release of the Damascus prisoners. Nine consuls, excepting the French, agreed to the proposition. To avoid the appearance that he had

Adolphe Cremieux

yielded to the pressure of foreign powers, Mohammed Ali decided of his own accord to send an order to Damascus for the release of the prisoners. At first this order read that Mohammed Ali granted "pardon" to the accused; but when Crémieux pointed out to the pasha that the term "pardon" attaches a stigma to the accused as well as to all Jewry and asked that the words "freedom and peace" be substituted, Mohammed Ali made the desired change in the wording of the firman.

Immediately upon the receipt of this order, Sherif Pasha, who knew well Mohammed Ali's severity, had to release the nine Jewish prisoners who were still incarcerated. Seven of these had been maimed by the tortures which they underwent, and only two were spared. Four victims had fallen. As soon as the news spread in Damascus, all Jews and many Turks gathered in front of the prison and accompanied the martyrs to the synagog. It became evident on this occasion that prominent Moslems had from the very beginning conceived a horror of the Christianity represented by Ratti-Menton and the monks, for they displayed a deep sympathy for the Jews.

The Jewish deputies did not regard their mission wholly accomplished if they did not attempt to prevent the recurrence of such incidents that stigmatize all Jewry. In the anticipation that Syria, with Damascus, would be restored to Turkey, Montefiore proceeded to Constantinople, opened negotiations with the Porte, and obtained a firman from the sultan (Nov. 6) that secured the Turkish Jews against blood accusations in the future. Crémieux chose a different field of activity. The martyrdom of Damascus produced the unexpected effect of bringing the Jews of Europe and those of the Orient into closer union. The latter saw with admiration how much their European brethren could accomplish by virtue of their education, influence and courage, and how they were treated with distinction by princes and men of exalted position, while they themselves had to bend their back helplessly to every blow. Crémieux utilized this admiration in an attempt to arouse the Egyptian Jews, at least those of the two chief cities of Alexandria and Cairo, out of their ignorance, and to make them susceptible to civilization. Their ignorance, even of Jewish literature, a consequence of the measureless oppression on the part of the pashas and their subordinates, as well as their unspeakable poverty, was at the same time the cause of the deep contempt in which they were held by Mohammedans and Christians. Solomon Munk, Crémieux's companion, addressed an eloquent epistle in Hebrew and Arabic to the Jews of Egypt, in which he cited instances of the whilom glory of the Jews of that country and compared them with the present degradation of the Jews, the result of intellectual decline. These efforts made it possible to open in Cairo a school each for boys and girls within a short time. These schools were named after Crémieux (Crémieux Schools), who promised to obtain an annual contribution from Europe, because the community was too poor to support the schools out of its own resources. On this occasion, Munk brought about an important reconciliation. Despite the opposition of several ultra-Rabbinites, he carried the point that the schools admit also children of Karaites who numbered only two hundred souls in Cairo. Moses Fresco, the chief-rabbi (Chacham Bashi) of Constantinople, issued, on this occasion, a circular letter to the Turkish communities to the effect that it was the duty of the Jews to study the vernacular (Turkish) in order to meet the wishes of the Sultan. The jargon in which this circular of the Chacham Bashi was couched (old Spanish, with an admixture of

Hebrew and Turkish words) was a striking proof of the necessity of a pure language on the part of the Jews of Turkey.

But these beginnings were merely seeds scattered in a desert whose rootage and growth were doubtful. However, the mission to Egypt proved of essential and enduring service to Jewish science, and that through Solomon Munk (Glogau, 1802—Paris, 1867). Munk was one of the great characters which the first half of the nineteenth century produced among the Jews. His endurance under misfortune, and his cheerfulness under the burden of blindness which he had incurred in the service of Jewish science, excited the admiration of Germany and France. Not content with sciolism, he absorbed himself in both the Hebrew and Arabic literatures and mastered many other cognate branches of knowledge and philology. He thus became one of the first masters of his day in the voluminous Arabic literature. In his capacity as Crémieux's interpreter, he spoke and wrote Arabic like a native of the Arabian tents. By virtue of his knowledge of this idiom he illumined the golden period of Jewish medieval history during the reign of the Arabs in the East and the West. The profound thoughts of Maimonides, the intellectual stimulator to whom, above all, modern Jewry owes its regeneration, were first revealed in all their completeness only through Munk's researches.

As a result of the blood accusation of Damascus, there came into existence a new organ for current events, "The Orient," founded by the Hebraist and Orientalist Julius Fürst (1805-73), which, in its supplement, "Literaturblatt," published solid researches in Jewish science, the work of the older masters and their more recent followers (1840-52).

The return journey from the Orient of the Jewish deputies who had not merely saved a few individuals from death, but also removed the reproach from Judaism, was a veritable triumphal procession. From Corfu to Paris and London and far into Poland the Jewish communities were of one mind in their gratitude to the saviors, and vied with one another in the expression of their gratitude as well as of their patriotic Jewish pride by visible tokens. They exhausted themselves in addresses, speeches and dedications in all European languages, including the Hebrew, of course, in prose and verse, in attentions and gifts, in their effort to celebrate worthily the important event connected with Damascus and with the two chief representatives of Jewry and Judaism, and to transmit the memory thereof to posterity. Crémieux, who started the homeward journey first, was paid enthusiastic homage everywhere. Only the Jewry of Paris acted coldly and prepared no proper reception for its envoy, fearing possibly to hurt the sensibilities of King Philippe whose ambiguous conduct was evident. Montefiore who tarried longer in Constantinople in order to obtain a favorable *firman,* was overwhelmed with congratulatory letters from every direction. He extorted a promise from Cardinal Rivarola, the Roman patron of all the Capuchins, to remove the tombstone from the church of the Capuchins of Damascus that was intended to perpetuate the alleged murder of Father Tomaso at the hands of the Jews, and to represent him as a saint. He forced also King Louis Philippe to make the best of a bad bargain. The latter had, as a matter of form, to congratulate Montefiore upon the success of his journey and mission. Queen Victoria thanked him with a greater sincerity and rewarded him with a distinction that reflected high honor not only upon himself but also upon his race. She granted him permission to add supporters to his coat of arms, a privilege usually accorded only to peers and knights of orders, and that bore the legend "Jerusalem." More significant than this bauble were the words of the Queen that accompanied the gracious distinction.

Munk, whose opinion carried great weight at that time, admonished: "May the dreadful incident of Damascus at least serve the purpose of making us conscious of our isolation which, distressing as it may be, is unfortunately a fact. May it prove to us that in dangerous situations we have to fall back upon our own resources, and may the bond which united us formerly be strengthened anew." This admonition was not followed. Instead of unity, dissensions broke out in German Jewry, occasioned again by the Hamburg Temple which had caused a palpable schism between the orthodox and the reformers two decades before. The Temple community had gained considerable strength since its inception. It attracted the younger members of the old community because they found no satisfaction for their devotional needs in the old synagog, and were scandalized at the disorder that still prevailed therein. When the Temple Society was seriously considering the erection of a new house of worship, the old party put many obstacles in its way by complaints to the Senate. Moreover, the Temple Society set about on this occasion to prepare a new prayer-book, and the commission to whom this task was assigned entered upon its work at first in a conciliatory spirit and omitted many things that proved objectionable in the old edition. The revised prayer-book of the Temple Society, which styled itself a common "Prayer-Book for Israelites," excited anger by its claims to serve as a book of prayer for all Jewry. Bernays condemned the new prayer-book as doing greater violence than the former one to the convictions contained in the Hebrew prayer-book, and ordered the reading in three synagogs on a Sabbath (1841) of that declaration against heretics which the three rabbis had issued when the Temple was first established, forbidding any Israelite to use this prayer-book. This proclamation naturally offended the Temple party, and gave rise anew to a violent quarrel that was waged with such passion on both sides that the Senate had to reprove both parties. The Chacham and the directorate of his community circulated the sentence of condemnation, pronounced on the prayer-book, by the thousands in many communities, and the leaders of the Temple appealed to rabbis and preachers of reform tendencies for their judgment as to the worth or worthlessness of their innovations, in the anticipation of a favorable opinion. On this occasion, the change that occurred in the German communities in the course of two decades became evident. While formerly only three not altogether responsible or ambiguous rabbis had expressed themselves in favor of the Temple Society, and many others had condemned it, on the occasion of the second quarrel only the rabbis in the neighborhood of Altona sided with Bernays, while twelve or thirteen took a decided stand against him (end of 1841). The years of indiscretion in the history of reform began at that time. Young rabbis or clergymen, spiritual guides (as they styled themselves by preference). held sway, while the old rabbis dared not oppose them. It looked as though all German Jewry was prepossessed in favor of innovations in the synagog, and only a few decadent spirits still resisted them.

The conflict that raged about the Hamburg Temple led to no results within its own sphere, because the frightful conflagration (May, 1842) that reduced a large part of that city to a heap of ruins distracted attention from the party feuds. But the flames of reform broke out in a different direction and threatened to spread far and wide. In Frankfort-on-the-Main there had been for a long time an intractable element that had become estranged from traditional Judaism. This estrangement had its origin partly in the Jewish school (Philanthropin), established in 1806, and partly in the first Jewish Masonic Lodge. The directors and teachers of the school, and the members of the lodge, were given to liberal tendencies. Michael Creizenach (1789-1842), a teacher in the Philanthropin School, an honest, intelligent but uninteresting person, who attacked rabbinic and Talmudic Judaism in many works, formed for some time the center of an invisible community, and inspired his friends and admirers with a sort of passion for innovations and deep aversion to the traditional. After his death, a number of his followers, educated laymen who had lost all sense of direction and touch in consequence of the heedlessness that had set in, or had been misled by false leaders, organized themselves into a separate community which threatened to become an independent sect. They styled their organization the "Friends of Reform" (1842), and set up a creed that represented the confusion which prevailed at that time. They denied the authority of the Talmud. But that of the Bible? Yes and no. "The Mosaic religion they regarded as capable of continued development." The Messianic hope they renounced absolutely "because they looked upon their native land as their sole fatherland."

The reformers endeavored to gain the support of Gabriel Riesser who was already an eminent personality. Riesser was at first really inclined to join the Friends of Reform. The love of freedom that filled his whole soul overbalanced in him his sentimental attachment to established Judaism. He was, for this reason, decidedly in favor of one point advocated by the Creizenach or Frankfort program, that every Jewish father should be at liberty to leave his sons uncircumcised. But other men who had been asked to join this organization took exception to this very point. The founders of the "Friends of Reform" felt therefore necessitated to abandon this point as well as their declaration against the dietary laws, and, out of the five points of their original program, to retain only two: opposition to the Talmud and renunciation of the Messianic hope. But Riesser regarded this very abridgement and attenuation of the original creed as an inconsistency and want of courage, and withdrew his support. The Society thus lost its power of attraction; but few members joined it; and it died at its very birth. Even several young rabbis of reform inclinations declared themselves in favor of the obligatoriness of circumcision. It therefore came to no schism in German Jewry, though the elements for such schism were not lacking and gave rise to a feeling of uneasiness.

This feeling dominated particularly the younger rabbis who were themselves uncertain as to the bounds to be set to the proposed reforms, or met with opposition in their communities on one or the other side, and were helpless in their isolation. For this reason, some of them welcomed a call to a rabbinical conference. This conference of practically like-minded rabbis and preachers excited at first a great deal of attention because of its novelty. The first Conference held at Brunswick attracted nevertheless only twenty-two rabbis, from Southern and Western Germany, for the most part. The others assumed a waiting attitude. But few rabbis who were in sympathy with Talmudic Judaism participated. The first Rabbinical Conference was dominated by Samuel Holdheim (Kempen, 1806—Berlin, 1860), a man who was well qualified to widen the breach and to bring about a complete schism. It is wonderful and yet quite natural that Talmudism which received its extravagant development from Polish students of the Talmud should be combated with relentless attacks by a Pole.

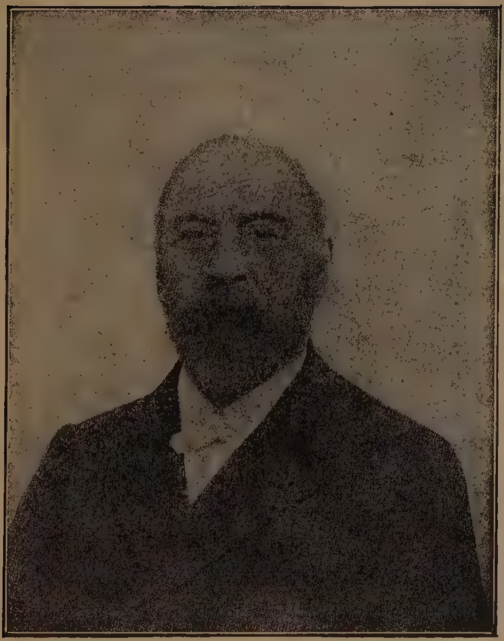
Mecklenburg-Schwerin that retained most faithfully the characteristics of medieval barbarity was then ruled by a prince who took it into his head to make his Jews liberal instead of free. They alone were to abandon completely all ancient memories and formulas, and adopt a new character. A board was appointed for the training of the communities, and Holdheim was called as district rabbi to co-operate with the board and to affix the rabbinic seal to the innovations. Holdheim was thus given a free hand, and he could abolish everything that appeared inconvenient to him inwardly and outwardly; but he was bent upon subverting all of Judaism in its threefold Biblical, Talmudic and Rabbinic aspects. Guided by Talmudic subtleties rather than by profoundly religious emotions, it was easy for Holdheim to confuse the mind and to blunt the conscience. Since the days of Paul of Tarsus, Judaism did not behold such an internal enemy who shook its entire structure to its very foundation. According to his view, Judaism consisted of a close fusion of religious morality and national polity. The latter had lost its significance with the destruction of the Jewish state. Which laws are national and therefore invalid? Holdheim called national all those laws that seemed inconvenient and required a certain amount of self-denial, such as the sabbath, Jewish marriage laws, and the Hebrew language itself. These and the Messianic hope, above all, must be particularly banished from the Jewish race because they formed a national bond. To this sophistry Holdheim added another in the assertion that Talmudic Judaism itself by its legal maxim: "The law of the state is obligatory upon the Jews" (in civil matters), obliges every Jew to subordinate and to sacrifice his religious institutions to every existing state; Judaism recommends its own suicide when the state sends it the silken cord. Holdheim, the son of the Talmud, struck Talmudic Judaism a deadly blow with the weapon which the Talmud itself handed to him. All the authority and power which the legislative Sanhedrin formerly enjoyed or should have enjoyed, even the right to encroach upon matters of conscience, Holdheim wished transferred to the Christian state.

Holdheim, who was admired by the majority of the members of the first Rabbinical Conference held at Brunswick as a first-rate Talmudist and reckless reformer, exerted a dominating influence upon the deliberations and resolutions of that Conference which paid much less regard to the letter and spirit of Judaism than to the state, "the noble German governments." The Talmud was offered as the scapegoat by the majority of its members. But the deliberations and the decisions of the Brunswick Rabbinical Conference (June, 1846) produced, after all, a hardly noticeable ripple. The communities paid as little attention to those as to the protest drawn up by thirty-seven little-known rabbis of Germany, Bohemia, Moravia and Hungary.

Contemporaneous events in the Christian world proved more conclusively than this laboriously gotten up protest that Judaism, with its ancient creed, had not yet become superfluous. The exhibition in Trier of the alleged sacred coat of Jesus, to which more than a million Catholics of all countries made a pilgrimage and before which they bent the knee (August to October, 1844), showed that the "sentiment of the age" was a delusive criterion. In consequence of this excess of medieval credulity, there sprang up in Germany what seemed at first a far-reaching anti-Catholic movement, stimulated by the Catholic priests Ronge and Czerski. A German-Catholic Church came into existence (Jan., 1845), and alongside of it there were organized "Rationalistic communities" within Protestantism that threatened to bring about the dissolution of Christianity. A Protestant clergyman of Königsberg solemnly renounced from his pulpit the belief in the trinity. As Jewry never lacked imitators of foreign models, loud voices were raised here and there for the establishment of a "German-Jewish Church," patterned after the German-Catholic Church. This movement emanated from Berlin, where Samuel Stern, a flowery orator, who was not qualified by knowledge to give an opinion on the subject, had delivered lectures on Judaism and Jewish history that represented the Jewish religion as a license for capricious vagaries. Under Stern's leadership, several scores of like-minded men convened to organize a sort of a church after a pattern of their own, a Reform Association (April 2, 1845). The founders of this Association issued a call to all Israel to meet into a synod in order to form a new Jewish religion. Their program consisted self-evidently only of negations, rejection of the Talmud, rejection of the Messianic doctrine, since they belonged heart and soul to their Berlin home, and a return to the Bible, not, however, to its letter but to its spirit. This call, however, did not lead to a synod, to a deliberation of a reform that was to convert Judaism into a duplicate of the rationalistic church. The Berlin Society clung, nevertheless, to its program which was to be canonized; that is, recognized as conformable to Judaism by the second Rabbinical Conference which met in Frankfort-on-the-Main (July, 1845).

This Conference excited more attention and aroused more passion than the first, because the Berlin Reform Association dominated it on the one side and on the other, because a leader of Jewish Science had associated himself with it for a moment. Zacharias Frankel (Prague, 1801—Breslau, 1875), though reared in a Talmudic atmosphere, did not belong to the ultra-Talmudists. His scientific researches and his critical sense convinced him not only of the legitimacy but even of the necessity of some reforms. In his youth he had thrown down the gauntlet to the ultra-orthodox. He thus occupied the middle ground, equally removed from Geiger's and Holdheim's aggressiveness, as from Samson Raphael Hirsch's mummy worship; and, by virtue of his activity as a rabbi and his services as an investigator, his leadership was admitted. Oscillating between these two forces, gravitating toward the Berlin reform on the one hand, and moved by regard for Frankel's personality on the other, the Conference fell into a vacillating position. Its first, not unexpected, resolution that the Hebrew language must, if possible, be blotted out from the memory and the consciousness of the Jewish race, impelled Frankel to withdraw publicly from its ranks, and the applause that greeted him from various directions made it evident that the Rabbinical Conference represented not the entire German Jewry but only a small active party. Without being aware of it, the Frankfort Rabbinical Conference lost its balance. With the Reform Association it had to play hide-and-seek. It had to praise aloud the steps taken by the Association for fear of falling out with the reform party, but dared not advocate the Association's inanities lest it lose its standing in the communities.

The Reform Association, however, took no exception to this equivocal attitude of the conference, for it knew that the influential members of the Conference, and Holdheim in particular, were ranged on its side. In the self-delusion that it would bring



Zechariah Frankel

about an essential reorganization of Judaism, it organized itself into a community of about two hundred members, and celebrated its consecration (April 2, 1846), on which occasion Holdheim, as its high priest, offered incense. There was thus born a "German-Jewish Church" with a temple, preacher and a divine worship of a new pattern. Entirely new forms were introduced into the Berlin Reform Temple. The worship with bare heads gave it a particularly strange appearance, and repelled even those who were in sympathy with reform. The Hebrew was retained in but few formulas. The Reform Temple assumed, on the whole, a Teutomaniac character and discarded the Jewish cosmopolitism. Holdheim, possibly more so than the liberal members of his community, was bent with a certain fanaticism upon the destruction of everything essentially Jewish. He made light not only of rabbinic Judaism and the Talmud, but also of the duties prescribed by the Scriptures. It was evident, however, that even in the Reform community the Jewish self-consciousness had made considerable progress since Friedländer's days. The Reform Association had completely overcome the tendency to curry favor with Christianity. None of its members, that numbered about a thousand, or their children, had gone over to Christianity. It does not in any way wish to be regarded as a separate sect, but desires rather to remain in close sympathy and cohesion with the Jewish people. The Reform Association of Berlin met, however, with little favor in Europe, though it exerted a wider influence in America. Since the forties communities were established in that country composed of members who had immigrated from several European countries, particularly from Bavaria, Bohemia, West Germany and Posnania, and had no common bond of union. They grouped themselves about no solid center, but shifted constantly through flux and reflux, and were not bound by the inherited traditions and considerations that influenced the character of older communities. If a preacher of the Holdheim School happened to officiate in a shifting community and insisted upon introducing radical reforms, he met with little opposition, or another community sprang up alongside of that one with little or no reforms.

Within the pale of the Berlin Reform community indifference manifested itself even sooner than its opponents expected. For want of worshippers, the Sabbath, which was to have been observed alongside of Sunday, had to yield to the Sunday observance, as was the case with the Judaeo-Christians of the first centuries. As to the attendance of the Sunday service, it is no longer within the province of history to discuss. This indifference and lack of interest which the founders of the reform community still lived to see must have convinced the latter that there was some error in their calculations. To expose this error to the bottom is likewise outside the province of historic research. The Reform Association met with an antagonist in its immediate proximity who did not enter into its calculations and who was all the more dangerous to it since he was a protest, not merely with his profoundly impressive words, but with every fiber of his being against the religion of the Johannisgasse that originated in committee meetings. This antagonist was Michael Sachs (Glogau, 1808—Berlin, 1864).

Sachs was in every respect the very antipode of Holdheim. If Holdheim was a typical representative of the Talmudic dialectics of Polish Jewry, Michael Sachs recalled the Jewish descendants of the Pyrenean Peninsula, refined by classic forms and esthetic sense. By virtue of his peculiar nature and the twofold affluxes into his soul from the Hebrew and the Greek worlds, Sachs became an ideally pure personality. There was no discord in his nature; feeling, thought and action were in perfect harmony. For this reason, he was relentlessly opposed to every theatricality and show, to inflate hollowness and vanity, and castigated them with the scourge of his words.

Judaism was to him the most precious thing because he regarded it as the revelation of a God who guides humanity, and because it was to him the sum of all that is high and holy; he would not suffer it to be subtilized away by the philosophy of the day. Sachs overlooked by no means the ugly excrescences on the surface of Judaism, but he also knew their origin, and believed that time that produced them would also remove them. He was too scrupulous even to touch it, lest in the process of removing the sickly and the corrupt part he injure the healthy part. He admitted no qualification in himself or others to undertake this separation. His scruples against a far-reaching reform were due in part to his aversion to any active interference with the practical.

Sachs' great endowments and slight failings pointed out to him the place wherein he could develop all the powers of his nature; he was born for the pulpit. The flow of his eloquence, the depth of his feelings, the fervor of his conviction, the magic that poured from his personality when he stood forth as the interpreter of the prophets and agadists, the striking humor he had at his command, the melody of his voice, the smoothness of his diction; in a word, every trait of his made him the unsurpassed pulpit orator of his day, and equalled only by Mannheimer of Vienna. As though destined by Providence to counteract the "Jewish-German Church" of Berlin and to form a counter-pole to Holdheim's eternal negations, he was elected as preacher and rabbinical assessor by the community of that city. Here he succeeded in inspiring his community with the full Jewish self-consciousness that animated himself and with the just pride of belonging to such an ancient, noble race, and in curing it partially from the servile imitation from which it had been ailing so long.

It goes without saying that he combated the reform tendencies with all his powers; he did so openly. He regarded Holdheim and his associates as falsifiers of Judaism. To abuse and insult he was indifferent. It was especially from the pulpit that he brandished the scourge of his blighting scorn against the Jewish-German Church that had so pruned down the fullness of Judaism in every direction that it could be placed within a nutshell. His opponents admitted that he employed only honest weapons. Any comparison between Sachs and his antipode Holdheim ever redounded to the advantage of the former. While the Temple of the Johannisgasse was deserted, the attendance of the synagog of Heydenreutergasse increased from week to week.

Just as Sachs contributed to the creation of Jewish enthusiasm, so he contributed to the promotion of Jewish science, though his contribution to the latter was more formal than real. Strictly speaking, he only gave it an imaginative form and made it accessible to the cultured Christian circles. He vested it with a poetic lustre, but surrounded it also with a romantic dusk. The forties were especially rich in the many-sided cultivation of Jewish science. The glorious period of Jewish-Spanish history exerted a particular attraction upon Jewish investigators. This period, however, was known only to the Jewish scholars, and even these knew it only in the crude mass and in fragments. Sachs undertook to fashion it into an organic whole, into a pretty, collective, picture. His "Religious Poetry of the Jews of Spain" (1845) offers more than its title indicates. In excellent and interesting descriptions, Sachs presents the succession of the products of the Jewish spirit from "the painful quivering of its members, torn from their living cohesion" after the destruction by the Romans of the unifying center, to the rich unfolding of the neo-Hebraic poetry in beautiful Spain. Through Sachs the attention of the cultured world was drawn to the wealth and beauty of the Jewish literature in the Middle Ages. Heine himself was struck by it, and dedicated his golden pen to it.

But Judaism with its adherents remained an undecipherable hieroglyphic, an obscure enigma that one century handed down unsolved to another, so long as there was no recognition "of the ancient rock of which it was hewn, the cavity from which it was hollowed out." Only a deeper knowledge of its origin, of its sacred documents could offer the correct solution. Thousands of years passed by and the complete unravelling of this riddle was not yet found. After Holy Writ, as the mother of two or three religions had been defied beyond measure for so long that it was looked upon as the "all in all," it fell into neglect since the middle of the eighteenth century. The school of Schleiermacher had separated the Old from the New Testament, and had broken their connection. The sophistic (rationalistic) school paid, indeed, much attention to the Hebrew documents, but only for the purpose of minimizing their value. Tholuck, Hengstenberg, leaders in the Protestant world, searched therein for false splendor, and what they found they appropriated for Christianity. In Jewish circles there were only three—Krochmel, Luzzatto and Sachs—who occupied themselves with an exhaustive examination of the Scriptures; but they kept a respectful distance, lest they approach Sinai too closely. It was a child-like mind that first succeeded in partly lifting the veil, in making the language of the prophets and psalmists more thoroughly intelligible, and in presenting the ancient history of the Jewish people in its proper light. The appearance of Heinrich Ewald's "The Prophets of the Old Testament" and the "History of the People of Israel" (1843-47) paved a new way for the understanding of the Hebrew spirit and people. The fundamental thought of this Ewald school is that Abraham's descendants are in fact and truth a "people of God," destined to bring to the earth saving truths in all their fulness. The development of these truths appears in the course of the history and in the literature of the Israelites.

But in proportion as Ewald glorified the Israelites as creators of the Old and the New Testament, he despised their descendants, the Jews, and would have liked to see them excluded from Christian socity. On the other hand, a statesman and novelist of the first rank ascribed to the Jews a superior importance just because of their glorious descent. Benjamin Disraeli (1804-81), afterward called Lord Beaconsfield as the leading statesman of England, was the son of a Jew who, together with his family, embraced Christianity out of a certain spite. Benjamin Disraeli, on the other hand, did not hide the fact that he was proud of his Jewish descent. In two novels (Croningsby, or the New Generation, 1844, and Tancred, or the New Crusade, 1847) he lays down the reasons for this proud self-consciousness. Sidonia, one of his characters, a descendant of a Marano family, who controlled the international market of Europe, and thereby exerted an influence upon the European states also, who is impressed by no noble blood because it cannot compare with the greatness of his own nobility, maintains

Benjamin Disraeli

(1804-1881)

that the importance of his race is traceable to a physiological law; because it remained free from the admixture of other races. A race that had outlived the great empires of antiquity and had resisted to the present day the mighty powers of history that were bent upon its destruction—such a race cannot die. The persecuting, mixed races disappear; the pure, though persecuted, race remains. Another one of his characters, a beautiful Jewish maiden, in an argument with a gifted Christian youth who is craving for truth, sets forth that when divine revelation occurred only the little spot of the Holy Land was found worthy of it; when divine messengers descended to bring solace and instruction to man, they were seen in no other country but that. When a redeemer appeared to humanity and apostles announced the glad tidings, they sprang solely from the midst of the Jewish people. Israel's origin, his continuance through periods of misery and his elevations from his lowliness in the present, warrant his necessity for the future also. This thought, in explanation of the significance of Judaism and its adherents, is much more convincing than that advanced in the same connection by the visionaries of the Fifth Monarchy at the time of the Reformation and in Cromwell's day.

The hour of deliverance for the Jews of Europe struck unexpectedly and overwhelmingly with the Revolution of February and March (1848) in Paris, Vienna, Berlin, Italy, and other countries. A passion for liberty seized upon the European peoples that was more overpowering and marvelous than that of the years 1789 and 1830. They presented themselves before their rulers with imperious demands. Among these demands the emancipation of the Jews appeared regularly. In all public meetings and demonstrations, the Jews, who were despised but yesterday, were included in the league of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity." What the most sanguine dared not even hope became a reality all of a sudden. Jews were elected to the parliaments with the right to deliberate about the reorganization of the governments. A Prussian member of the Diet expressed his horror at the thought that a Jew should sit and vote next to him. On the following day his fear came true: Riesser and Veit sat next to him to deliberate about the reorganization of Germany, and Mannheimer and Meisels, a rabbi of the old school, wearing a Polish garb, assisted in the reorganization of Austria. In Western and Central Europe, as far as the borders of Russia and to the domain of the papacy, the Jews were freed from their shackles. Even Nicholas, the Russian Czar, who hated the word "liberty" with all his soul, removed, in part, the restrictions which his predecessor had again imposed upon the Russian Jews. He manifested a sincere desire to ameliorate the wretched condition and the moral degradation of the approximately million and a half of his Jewish subjects. He granted a gracious reception to Sir Moses Montefiore, who interceded with him in their behalf, and gave him permission to travel through the country and convince himself by personal observation of the condition of the Jewish communities of Russia and Poland. In addition, the czar convoked a commission of rabbis and notables in St. Petersburg (Petrograd, May, 1848) who were to suggest means for the improvement of the condition of the Jews, and ordered the establishment of two rabbinical seminaries in the country where the future rabbis might acquire some secular knowledge alongside of the Talmud, and particularly the Russian language, in order to assist in abolishing the offensive jargon of the Russian Jews.*

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* The history of the Jews of Russia under Nicholas is treated more fully in the Supplementary Volume. Ed.

Looking retrospectively at the century that elapsed since Dohm, Mirabeau and Grégoire raised their voices in behalf of Jewish freedom, the rise of the Jews appears truly marvelous. In all civilized and even semi-civilized countries of the earth, the Jews discarded the attitude of servility, carried their heads high, and could no longer be bullied by the "Hep-hep!" cry of the street loafers. The attempts made in Germany and Austria now and then to drive them back into the ghetto proved futile. In France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and in North America their equality in every respect is so ingrained in the political system that any suggestion to abrogate or even abridge it is simply unthinkable. It is true that in England the legislation dealing with their complete emancipation was prolonged for nearly thirty years (1829-1858), but not because their worth was questioned, but because the oath prescribed for the acceptance of public office contained a Christian formula which Jews could not repeat. As a matter of fact, they stood so high in public regard that the House of Commons repeatedly enacted their equality into law, and the House of Lords denied its assent to it solely out of its aversion to all innovation. The Lords, too, finally yielded, and the form of the oath was changed in favor of the Jews. Since that time eminent English Jews were assigned to positions of the highest dignity—a circumstance which has an added and entirely different significance in England than elsewhere in Europe, since such officials enjoy almost princely rank. In the newly risen kingdom of Sardinia, and in the state which, to the astonishment of European statesmen and rulers expanded into the kingdom of modern Italy through Garibaldi's "Red Shirts"—for the accomplishment of which Jews fought bravely—Jewish equality has likewise become an incontestable fact which only the rabid enemies of Italy would wish to attack.

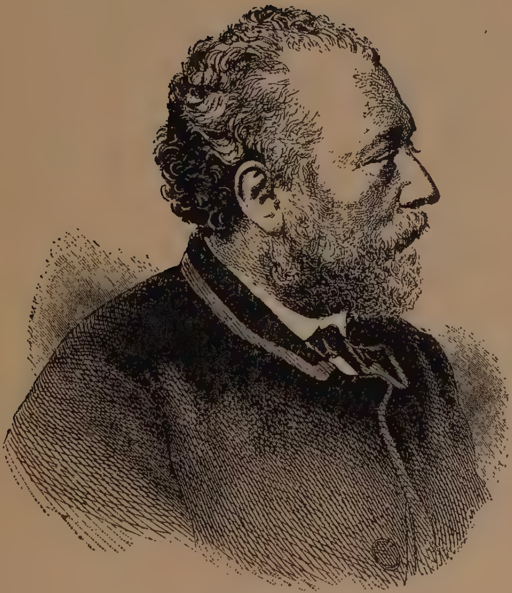
Were one to believe the Jew-baiters, he must assume that alongside of the five world powers—and the sixth, the press, which controls public opinion—Jewry constitutes a seventh world-power that threatens to devour Christendom neck and crop, and would, in fact, be in a position to extirpate it unless precautionary measures were adopted to break this power. To be sure, those who parade that fearful spectre are themselves the least frightened by it, and utilize it only as a new means of attack; but this warning cry does not contain a kernel of truth. Jewry in the civilized countries is indeed invigorated and armed; not for attack, but for defense. The anxious fear that since the evil days of the crusades used to fill every Jew when an insolent Christian urchin bullied him—verifying the threat of the greatest of all prophets: "The sound of a shaken leaf shall chase them" (Lev. 26:36)—this fear vanished from the House of Jacob. The financial power which Jewish capitalists attained in consequence of the changed political conditions and the intellectual power which eminent Jews achieved as statesmen, artists, as promoters and patrons of science, and as molders of public opinion through the press, are of advantage to their fellow Jews solely as a shield against violence and abuse. The Rothschilds, the Sasoons, the Ginsburgs, Hirsch, and other Jewish capitalists entertain as little the idea of conquest as did and do the Jewish statesmen Crémieux, Johann Jacoby (1805-77), Eduard Lasker (1824-84), Ignaz Kuranda (1812-84), and other Jewish members of parliament and incumbents of ministerial posts or high offices and dignities in England, France, Italy and Holland. The Jewish artists of first rank, like Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864), Fromenthal Halévy (1799-

1862), Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870), Rachel in France (1821-58), and the still living heroes of the stage, the novelist Berthold Auerbach (1802-82) and others, as well as a great number of Jewish academicians and university teachers who arose since the revolutionary year of 1848, have only consciously or unconsciously removed the reproach of insensibility to art and science with which their bitter enemies slandered the Jewish people.

A weird after-effect of medievalism led to the inauguration of a far-reaching movement to safeguard Jewish interests. In Bologna, which then belonged to the papal states, a Christian servant-girl in the employ of a Jewish family by name of Mortara, secretly baptized their child Edgar when he was very ill, and gave no notice of it to a priest until several years later (1858). Thereupon, a monk and gendarmes forced their way into Mortara's house, snatched the six-year-old child from his parents' arms, carried him to Rome, and placed him under Christian training. The mother of the child went mad with grief. All efforts made by the father to recover his child were futile. Jews and Christians throughout the world were horror-stricken at the news of this outrage perpetrated in the name of religion. The entire European press, including the Russian, excepting the ultra-Catholic, were unanimous in their condemnation of such a crime. Several governments, and even the emperor Napoleon III, whose troops were then protecting Rome, appealed in vain to Pope Pius IX to restore the child to his parents, particularly since his baptism was not ritually administered. Pius IX, who betrayed a touch of liberalism in the revolutionary year of 1848, and was therefore represented as the "Wizard of Rome," turned a deaf ear to all the urgent appeals with the fateful words, "Non possumus." The unanimity of all Jews of Europe and

America manifested itself again on this occasion as during the Damascus Affair eighteen years before.

Six young men in Paris embraced this favorable opportunity to organize a fraternity that was to encompass all Jewry throughout the world. This fraternity was named "The Universal Israelitish Alliance" (L'Alliance Israélite Universelle, 1860), and its object was "to work for the emancipation and the moral progress of Israelites everywhere and to lend effective support to those who suffer in the capacity of Israelites." The six young men were: Charles Netter, a merchant; Narcisse Leven, a lawyer; Jules Carvallo, a civil engineer; Eugene Manuel, a university professor; Aristide Astruc, an assistant rabbi; and Isidore Cahen, a professor of the rabbinical college. Adolph Crémieux, the brilliant orator and indefatigable defender of his coreligionists, joined the Association later on, gave it weight and prestige, and lent to it the fervor of his eloquence and the intrepidity of his character. This fraternity met with immediate encouragement. In the first year of its existence, eight hundred and fifty members joined the Society from France, Germany, Austria, England, Italy, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Russia, and even from Spain and the Republic of Venezuela. At present (1878) the Society numbers thirty thousand members, and has proved itself a shield of protection to Jewry in critical moments. The Mortara affair led at the same time to the organization in America of the "Union of American Hebrew Congregations on Civil and Religious Rights" (1861), a similar fraternity with a similar object. Ten years later, a similar society was organized in England (Anglo-Jewish Association) to coöperate with the Alliance. This Association has several thousand members both in England and in Australia and other British



Berthold Auerbach

colonies. In Vienna, too, an "Israelitsche Allianz" for the protection of persecuted coreligionists was called into existence (1873) by Joseph Wertheimer, Ignaz Kuranda, and Moritz Goldschmid, and numbers five thousand members.*

The need of such a firm and close union against the arch-enemies of the Jews who are as immortal as prejudice and malice, was absolutely imperative. The progress made by the Jews since their enfranchisement, which excited jealousy, created new enemies for them, especially in Germany and Austria. They were particularly hated by a party that desired to see the restoration of medievalism with its enslavement and obscurantism. In Germany it is called the small but powerful party. Its prophet was Frederick Julius Stahl (1802-61), a Jewish apostate, who provided it with a few shreds of ideas and catch-words, upon which it feeds, such as "Christianization of Science," "authority, not majority." Its program includes also a systematic Jew-baiting. The organ of this party (usually called the Kreuzzeitung) takes the cross for its symbol, but not love, humility and truth as its motto. This journal constantly infects kindred circles outside of Germany with its everlasting calumnies against Jews and Judaism.

Another arch-enemy of the Jews appeared in the last decades, not under the sign of the cross, but under the trademark of race presumption. A phrase-monger advanced the attractive theory in current literature that the alleged descendants of Shem—Jews, Arabs and other peoples who are related to them by language, called Semites—are inferior in mental vigor, ability and perception to the Arians, the Indo-European peoples. To be sure, the Semites, or, more correctly, the Sons of Israel, had given the civilized world a God, a higher moral civilization and the Sacred Scriptures which ever reawaken such a civilization, but the advocates of racial separation hold these blessings in less esteem than they do the possessions of the Arians. From this pernicious delusion, the Jew-baiters, styling themselves Antisemites, derive their title to proscribe the Jews, and, at most, to tolerate them in a subordinate position as strangers, since the earth and the fullness thereof belong by right to the Arians. This artificially nurtured anti-Semitic race-hatred, which was born in France, matured in Germany and nurtured everywhere, recalled to life the medieval spirit that charged the Sons of Jacob with the murder of Christ and led to tragic scenes. The humanitarian ideas instilled in the minds of men since the preceding century must be banished once more.

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* The "Union of German-Jewish Communities," organized in Leipsic by Kohner and Nachod, has no universal aim like those enumerated above, and has generally an indefinite program.

The rejuvenescence or purification of their ancestral faith did not keep pace with the rise and rejuvenescence of Jewry as the standard-bearers of an original, very ancient religion. To be sure, the fundamental truths of Judaism, their beneficent operation in the history of nations, and their civilizing significance have been perceived more deeply. The discovery made by choice spirits from a careful study of the Sacred Scriptures and the wonderful course of the history of the Jewish people, that Judaism has an apostleship by means of which this doctrine is to become a light to the nations, has now become rather current. But as to the means by which the fundamental truths of Judaism are to be kept alive in order to prove effective in the future, and as to the relation of the ritual element of religion, as it had become crystallized historically, to the purely religious and moral elements if Judaism is to retain its exclusiveness—as to these weighty questions opinions differ widely, and this confusion led to separations and estrangement though not to the formation of new sects. These questions can be solved only by Jewish science through a still more earnest research in the original documents of Judaism that it might be definitely ascertained what the prophets promulgated on these subjects, and what the Jewish sages, in different periods, taught about them.

In the last decades several institutions for the study of the Science of Judaism were established in Germany, where that science is cultivated more zealously than in the older institutions of France and Holland. The magnanimous bequest of Jonas Fränkel, a noble descendant of a rabbinical family, made possible the establishment in Breslau of the Jewish Theological Seminary (1854) that has already sent forth upward of a hundred rabbis and preachers to work in German, Austrian and American communities. A decade later two similar institutions were founded in Berlin by voluntary contributions, one of which styles itself the "Orthodox Rabbinical Seminary," and the other is designated as the "Institution for the Science of Judaism" (Lehranstalt fur die Wissenschaft des Judentums). In Hungary the government established a rabbinical school at public expense that is to educate rabbis, preachers and religious teachers who were to employ the Hungarian language. This institution, as a daughter of the Breslau seminary, is organized after the same program and acts in the same spirit.

These institutions for the science of Judaism, if they apply themselves earnestly to a search after truth, would have the function of the expected prophet Elijah, that of removing all doubt, and particularly of answering the question of the authorization, admissibility and limits of reform which is the very cause of discord in Jewry, to the end that the hearts of the parents might be reconciled with the hearts of the children.

THE END